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AUTHOR	Sewel, John; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The economic and social effects of centralised education in the rural areas of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were studied. Five factors (geographical position, population density, occupational structure, economic prosperity, and educational structure) were considered in order to study the migration patterns, and attitudes and aspirations in relation to educational provision and economic opportunities. Three extensive surveys were conducted to examine the attitudes and expectations of parents, of pupils in first and fourth years of secondary school, and of school leavers. In 9 selected locations, representing different patterns of secondary school organisations, 532 parents were interviewed about their expectations of migration, their aspirations for their children, and their satisfaction with the educational provision. Questionnaires were received from 996 pupils in first year and 831 in fourth year. These were compared to 675 questionnaires returned by former pupils who had lived in the area and had left school during session 1971-72. Findings included: the most favourable attitudes to secondary school provision were recorded in areas where there was a local two-year comprehensive school, or where the all-through comprehensive school was located within the West Coast region; between first and fourth years, there was a slight increase in the expectation of migration; and within two years of leaving school, nearly half of the former pupils were no longer wholly resident within their original home districts. (NQ)

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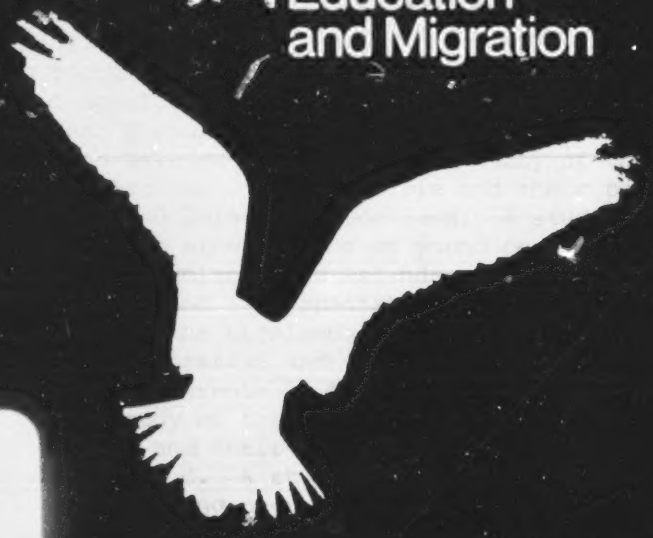

A study of the migration and job expectations of young people and their parents in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland

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Education and Migration

A study of the migration and job expectations of young people and their parents in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

Department of Education — John Sewel
Department of Political Economy — Lynda Peel
Institute for the Study of — Professor Maxwell Gaskin
Sparsely Populated Areas — Professor John Nisbet
University of Aberdeen

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Finally, thanks are due to the Highlands and Islands Development Board which provided the financial support and thus gave us the opportunity to do the work described here.

Note: this research was conducted before the reorganisation of local government. Throughout, therefore, this report uses the pre-May, 1975 titles e.g. the Seven Crofting Counties, Inverness-shire etc.

Summary

Remit

Our remit from the Highlands and Islands Development Board was "to carry out a study into the economic and social effects of centralised education in the rural areas of the Highlands and Islands". We were asked to take account of five factors — "geographical position, population density, occupational structure, economic prosperity and educational structure" — in order to study:

"(a) patterns of migration;
(b) attitudes and aspirations in relation to educational provision and economic opportunities."

Are parents in remote areas more inclined to leave if their children have to leave home for their secondary education at a distant centre? What is the relation between educational provision and the economic pattern in the remoter areas of the Highlands and Islands?

Background to the study

Concern about these matters has intensified over the past ten years with the fear that the introduction of comprehensive secondary education throughout the Highlands and Islands would mean that almost all pupils from remoter areas would have to leave home at the beginning of their secondary education. In fact, a review of the different patterns of organising secondary education throughout the region showed that there is a great variety of provision, and in many areas it is possible for pupils to remain in their home districts during the early years of secondary education. From this general review, boundaries were defined to identify the research area (the remoter districts of the Highlands and Islands region) and nine locations for special study were selected, covering a wide range of different patterns of secondary school provision (two in Orkney, two in Lewis, Barra, West Sutherland, South-West Ross, Ullapool and Mallaig).

Another important aspect of the background to the problem involved the analysis of census data. This showed that, in contrast to the Highlands and Islands as a whole, the remoter parts of the region are still experiencing a net loss of population. Analysis by age-group and occupation indicated that out-migration is particularly heavy among those entering employment and those seeking skilled manual jobs in districts where there are few local opportunities.

A third preliminary section of this report reviews the comparable research work which has been done in other countries.

Research surveys

The main part of the report presents, in summary form, the results from three extensive surveys which were carried out, covering a wide range of the Highlands and Islands area.

1. Survey of the attitudes and expectations of parents

In nine selected locations, representing different patterns of secondary school organisations, 532 parents (over 80 per cent of all the families) were interviewed about their expectations of migration, their aspirations for their children and their satisfaction with the educational provision. The results show that in some areas there is a significant proportion of parents who are dissatisfied with the pattern of secondary school provision, but there is no evidence to suggest that this dissatisfaction is a factor influencing decisions on migration. Indeed, few of the parents express any intention of migrating from their present home districts. However — and this is possibly the most important finding from this survey — they do expect that their children will move away to jobs outwith the home district. Thus many pupils in these areas grow up in a social environment where there are strong expectations that they will eventually migrate.

The most favourable attitudes to secondary school provision were recorded in areas where there is a local two-year comprehensive school, or where the all-through comprehensive school is located within the West Coast region. Parents' attitudes to the centralisation of secondary education do not depend simply on the stage at which the pupils transfer to a distant school. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction is, in large part, dependent on comparisons which the parents make with the most likely alternative pattern. Thus dissatisfaction is high where parents believe that it is legitimate to expect a pattern of secondary provision preferable to the one they presently endure.

2. Survey of pupils in first and fourth years of secondary school

The second survey investigated the expectations and aspirations of the pupils themselves. The first and fourth years of secondary school were selected to test whether pupils' attitudes changed during the experience of secondary education. All the secondary schools serving the research area collaborated in administering questionnaires, and replies were received from 996 pupils in first year and 831 in fourth year.

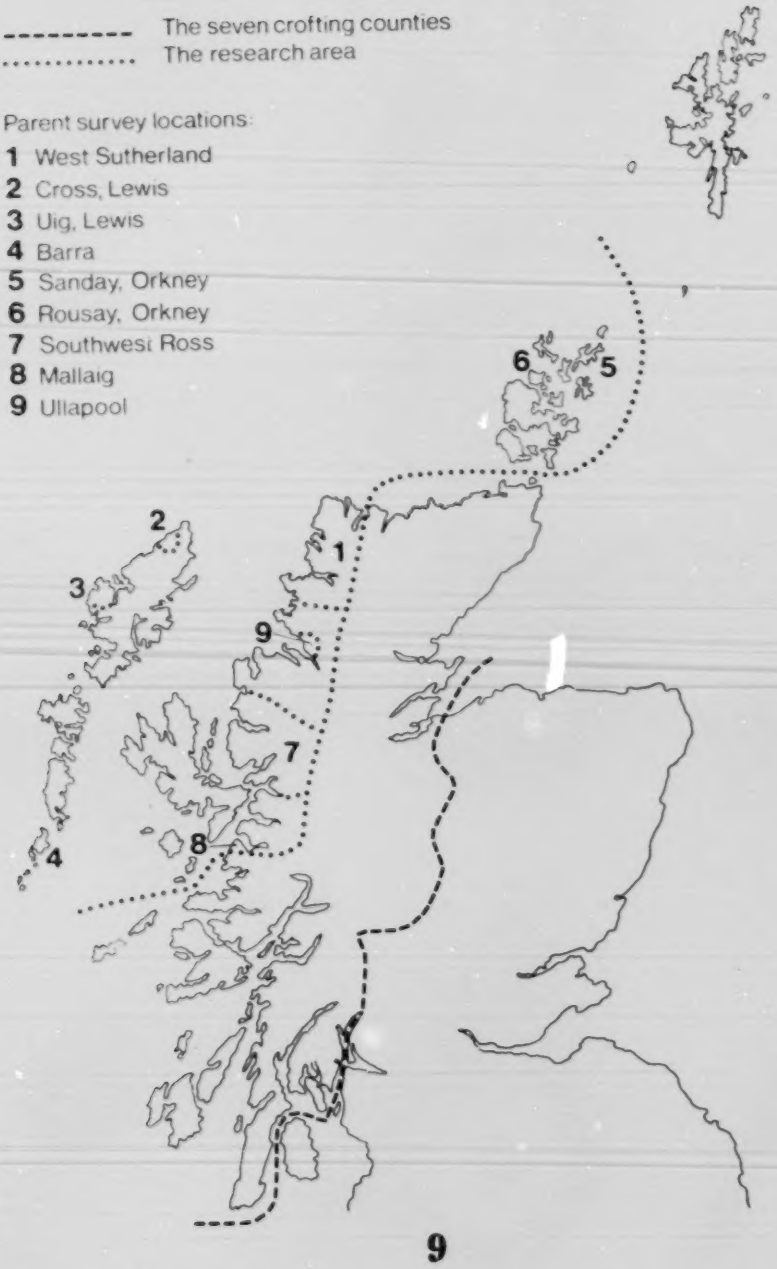
The results revealed that even in the first year many pupils have pessimistic views about the range and number of job opportunities likely to be available in their home districts. Consequently, for many, migration was a likely possibility. Between first and fourth years, there is a slight increase in the expectation of migration; the absence of any dramatic increase suggests that the experience of secondary education does not result in fundamental changes in attitude. Analysis of replies from particular groups of pupils showed that living away from home does not affect pupils' expectations about migration.

3. Survey of school leavers

In the third survey, these findings were checked against replies to questionnaires sent to former pupils who had lived in the research area and had left school during session 1971-72. 899 postal questionnaires were sent out, and in spite of the difficulty of contact, 675 (75 per cent) were returned. Within two years of leaving school, nearly half of these former pupils were no longer wholly resident within their original home districts.

An interval of two years is too short for any final migration pattern to become apparent, but this group could be expected to be better able to predict what they would do as adults than the children still at school. Overwhelmingly, those who have left for higher or further education do not expect to return. A significant proportion of young, skilled, manual workers have already migrated. Of the whole group, only 18 per cent expect to be living in their original home districts by the time they are aged 25 years, 42 per cent are uncertain and 40 per cent expect to migrate.

A summary of the conclusions is given on page 78.


The seven crofting counties
The research area
Parent survey locations:
1 West Sutherland
2 Cross, Lewis
3 Uig, Lewis
4 Barra
5 Sanday, Orkney
6 Rousay, Orkney
7 Southwest Ross
8 Mallaig
9 Ullapool

9

Chapter 1

The Origins of the Study

The low density of population that characterises much of the Highlands and Islands has meant that the pattern of secondary education provision in the region has always deviated from the pattern obtaining throughout much of the rest of Scotland. Secondary education in the Highlands and Islands has been based on the acceptance that at least some children from the remoter areas would be required to live away from their homes during the period of secondary education.

The outlines of the present structure of secondary education in the region can be dated from the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act which had as its objective the provision of "secondary education for all." In the more remote sparsely populated areas of the Seven Crofting Counties the reaction to the 1945 Act was the proliferation of small secondary departments on the top of one and two-teacher primary schools. These small departments had few of the facilities necessary to provide an adequate level of secondary education and were strongly condemned in 1947 by the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland, which concluded that: "In effect these children are being denied secondary education."[2]

The pattern of provision that evolved after the 1945 Act was one based to a large extent on centralised secondary schools for "academic children" who were to follow certificate courses leading to the Higher grade of the Senior Leaving Certificate, coupled with small junior secondary schools providing non-certificate courses for non-academic pupils. Some education authorities in the 1950's began to move away from this pattern of provision; but in the early and mid 1960's there were three developments which constituted a major challenge to the pattern and called into question the educational feasibility of junior secondary schools. In 1962 the 'O' grade examinations of the Scottish Certificate of Education were introduced, and this eroded the practice of differentiating pupils into two basic categories — non-certificate pupils and certificate pupils. The introduction of the 'O' grade meant that an increasing number of parents and pupils would demand the provision of courses that would enable presentations to be made at the 'O' grade examinations. Pupils who could never aspire to acquiring a whole series of Higher grade passes could now reasonably expect to obtain some 'O' grades and indeed employers would soon start demanding them as entry qualifications for a widening range of occupations.

The next development that appeared to undermine the educational viability of the small junior secondary schools occurred in the mid-1960's with the appearance of the Brunton Report.[3] The report was prepared in anticipation of the raising of the school-leaving age from 15 to 16 years. It was particularly concerned with the provision of a wide range of courses and facilities for those pupils who had previously enjoyed only three-year non-certificate courses, and had consequently left school at 15. The intention that the range of courses and facilities for non-certificate pupils would become comparable to those provided for certificate course pupils, again represented a major threat to the small junior secondary department. Costs and staffing difficulties were major constraints in the way of improving facilities in small junior secondary schools up to the standard envisaged by Brunton.

It is likely that without any further policy initiatives the introduction of 'O' grades and the implementation of the Brunton Report would have eventually resulted in a greater centralisation of secondary provision throughout the remoter areas. However, the trends, arguments and assumptions concerning the structure of secondary education in the Highlands and Islands were made explicit by the publication of Circular 600 on "The Reorganisation of Secondary Education Along Comprehensive Lines" by the Scottish Education Department in 1965. On the face of it, the demise of all junior secondary schools appeared imminent. If all pupils were to attend six-year comprehensive schools for the whole of their secondary education there would be a dramatic increase in the degree of centralised provision, and a consequent increase in the number of pupils living away from home. However, the low population densities in parts of the region were recognised by the Secretary of State and the S.E.D. as causing particular problems which made it necessary to treat the Highlands and Islands as a special case. The difficulty to be faced by authorities in the northern counties was outlined in Circular 600.

> "In some areas where the population is more scattered and where communications are most difficult, it would be impractical to provide in one school the range of courses suitable for all pupils in the area, even during the first two years of the secondary courses without a measure of centralisation which would be quite unacceptable to parents."[2]

Because of this particular problem the Secretary of State asked the Highlands and Islands Development Board for their views on the social and economic factors involved in applying the policy of comprehensive reorganisation to the northern counties. In response to the invitation the Board made a number of detailed observations aimed at decreasing the possibility of secondary provision being only available in a limited number of centralised six-year schools. Despite their reservation the Board accepted the principle of comprehensive secondary education but favoured the introduction of junior high schools which would enable pupils to remain at home for at least the first two years of secondary education. As the Board recognised, the necessity to live away from home was not something new to Highland pupils, but they were opposed to any system which took all the pupils from the remoter areas away from their homes at the beginning of secondary education.

> "Most academic pupils in the Highlands already go away from home for their education. This had drained the brighter pupils from the rural areas and only a few have the opportunity of coming back. If the all-through comprehensive school is adopted everywhere this will now happen to all young people".[3]

Over the next few years as education committees produced their schemes for comprehensive reorganisation, the debate widened and many pressure groups throughout the region expressed opinions on the proposals of education committees and the general issues raised by Circular 600. An example of local concern at the possible consequence of a totally centralised system is provided by the memorandum submitted by the Western Isles Crofters' Union to the Scottish Education Department and the Ross and Cromarty Education Committee. The Crofters' Union feared that a policy of reorganisation that resulted in all secondary pupils on Lewis receiving their education in one centralised school in the town of Stornoway would have dangerous educational and social consequences.

"Thus, unless the trend will be modified, no child over twelve will, in the future thereafter, be educated anywhere in rural Lewis . . . It is legitimate, therefore, to argue against massive centralisation on the grounds of the disastrous effects, socially and psychologically of the removal of the young from rural Lewis . . . Present policy will seriously jeopardise rural employment, social life and thereby population retention, besides disrupting family life and killing a valuable culture." [5].

The continuing interest of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in the possible consequences of different proposals for the reorganisation of secondary education is reflected in the June and September 1969 meetings of the Highlands and Islands Development Consultative Council at which proposals were discussed for commissioning a detailed study on the relationship between centralised education and depopulation in the remoter areas of the region. On the 7th and 8th May 1970 the Consultative Council held a conference in Inverness on the relationship between depopulation and centralised education. The conference was attended by representatives of the Directors of Education and secondary school headmasters from the seven counties in the region, as well as H.M. Inspectors of Schools together with educationalists from universities and colleges of education. Although no clear agreement emerged from the conference as to the nature of the relationship between centralised educational provision and rural depopulation the Highlands and Islands Development Board considered that it would be valuable to commission the present project. The type of question which interested the Board and to which the research design would pay attention was outlined in the papers commissioning the project.

"The basic design of the study is a comprehensive analysis, in some twelve selected areas, of the inter-relation of five main factors: geographical position, population density, occupational structure, economic prosperity, educational structure. For each area, the study would include patterns of migration, and the attitudes and aspirations of parents and pupils in relation to the educational provision and economic opportunities. The research will have regard to a list of questions prepared by the Highlands and Islands Development Board:

1. Whether parents in remote areas tend to leave because their children are being educated at a distant centre?

2. Whether parents tend to leave remote areas in advance of children reaching educable age in order to secure the best possible education for their children?

3. Whether parents tend to leave remote areas to follow non-academic children who are obliged to take employment on leaving schools in urban areas?

4. Whether there is a general concept amongst parents in remote areas that education is directed towards preparing the child for living and working in areas of urban employment and culture?

5. Whether non-academic children educated outwith their home community (especially Island communities) are less likely to return even if jobs are available and, if so, whether they are going on to jobs which are better paid than those they could have at home?

6. Whether it would be possible to provide training more closely related to the limited job opportunities in remote areas in local rather than in centralised schools?

7. Whether the curriculum for non-academic pupils in centralised schools covers the basic training which would be of value in the jobs available in the child's home area (e.g. jobs connected mainly with fishing)?

8. Whether centralised education conditions children to think that progress inevitably leads away from the home environment?

9. Whether, if children are conditioned in this way, it leads to a failure to develop job opportunities in the remoter areas which might have been developed if people were not trained to escape?

10. Whether there is any evidence that selective education is leading to a decline in the I.Q. level?

The Design of the Project

Work on the project commenced in October 1972. From the beginning the H.I.D.B. had been particularly concerned with the effects that changes in the pattern of secondary education provision were likely to have on depopulation from the remoter parts of the region. Obviously it was necessary to establish what changes had taken place and what patterns of provision existed throughout the region. The description of the present situation together with recent changes is presented later in the report. However, although changes in the pattern of provision were seen as being of crucial importance it became clear that the Board's concern could be placed in a wider context which included a consideration of the function of rural education and an examination of the development of job and migration expectations among pupils living in the remoter areas. As the research developed, it moved away from a narrow concern with the relationship between secondary education provision and out-migration to a more general concern with the factors affecting job and migration expectations among young people from the peripheral area. Eventually it was decided that a research design based on sampling three groups — parents, secondary school pupils and recent school-leavers — would provide a framework within which it would be possible to give attention to the main concerns of the Board.

a. The Survey of Parents

In carrying out a survey of parents we wished to identify those households where the parents had a high expectation of migration in the near future. From the preliminary examination it emerged that there were a number of varieties of secondary school provision which required at least some of the pupils from an area to live away from home for part of their secondary education.

Through a survey of the parents it is possible to identify which particular type of secondary provision causes greatest dissatisfaction among parents, and the extent to which potential migrants identify the pattern of provision as a major factor affecting their decision to move. The parent survey was also used to examine the perceptions that parents had of the local availability of jobs for school-leavers and whether the parents perceived the local areas as ones from which most school-leavers left in order to get jobs elsewhere. In addition, the parent survey was used to find out the job and migration expectations that parents had for their own children.

Rather than base the survey on a random sample of all parents living in the research area, nine districts were selected so that all the major varieties of secondary provision in the research area would be represented. Where there was a choice of several districts having a similar pattern of provision, it was considered useful to select districts which could be contrasted with each other on the basis of other criteria. These included geographical location (island/mainland), spatial distribution of settlement (village, scattered or isolated settlements), and expected level of locally available employment. The selected districts are not statistically representative of the research area, but instead are illustrative of the different conditions and types of environment that can be found within the area.

The selected areas were:-

The west coast of Sutherland, which is an area of dispersed settlements and small villages from where all pupils are required to live away from their homes at the beginning of the first year of secondary education and attend a school on the east coast of Sutherland.

Uig, Isle of Lewis, which is an isolated area on the west coast of the Isle of Lewis, where settlements are very dispersed and from where pupils are required to live away from home at the very beginning of their secondary education and attend the Nicolson Institute in Stornoway on the east coast of Lewis.

Cross, Isle of Lewis, which is an area of much greater population density than Uig, and pupils attend a local comprehensive school for the first two years of secondary education after which they all transfer to the Nicolson Institute and live away from home.

The Isle of Barra, which is at the southern tip of the Outer Hebrides and where apart from the village port of Castlebay all other settlements are dispersed small villages. Selection of pupils takes place at the beginning of secondary education and those selected for 'certificate courses' are required to leave the island while those who remain for secondary education on Barra only had the option of following non-certificate courses at the time the research started. Since then very limited 'O' grade provision has been made in the local secondary school at Castlebay.

The island of Sanday in the Orkney group which is predominantly an area of small family farms. Pupils remain on the island for the first two years of their secondary education after which virtually all transfer to a comprehensive school in Kirkwall on the mainland island of Orkney and are then required to start living away from home.

Like Sanday, the islands of Rousay, Egilsay and Wyre are predominantly agricultural islands within the Orkney group but rather than staying at home for the first two years, pupils have to move away and stay in Kirkwall from the beginning of their secondary education.

Mallaig on the west coast of Inverness-shire, which is at the rail head from Glasgow and as well as being a service centre is the main herring port of Scotland. All pupils attend the local secondary school for the first two years after which those selected for a 'certificate course' transfer to Lochaber High School in Fort William which is also on the

west coast but sufficiently distant to require the pupils to live in hostels or lodgings. Those selected for non-certificate courses remain at the local secondary school in Mallaig where limited 'O' grade provision has recently been introduced.

Ullapool, which is a relatively large village and small service centre. The pupils attend the local comprehensive secondary school for the first two years after which all pupils transfer to Dingwall Academy on the east coast and live away from home.

The final area is that part of south and west Ross-shire that forms the catchment area of Plockton High School outwith daily travelling distance from the school. In the north the area includes the settlements of Shieldaig, Torridon and Applecross. Further south, Kishorn and Loch Carron are included but the immediate area surrounding Plockton and Kyle of Lochalsh from where pupils can travel daily to Plockton High School is excluded. South of Kyle of Lochalsh, the only area to be included is in the neighbourhood of Rattigan.

In all the areas it was possible to compile a list of parents who had children at either primary or secondary school during session 1971 72 by consulting the registers of the local primary schools and the secondary schools that served the areas. In all the areas with the exception of Mallaig, attempts were made to interview one parent from all of the identified households. In Mallaig a 70% random sample was drawn of parents living in the catchment areas of Mallaig and Morar primary schools. Of the 667 parents we attempted to contact in the nine areas, 532 (80%) were interviewed. This constitutes 76% of all relevant households in the areas.

b. The Survey of Secondary School Pupils

In the other surveys it was possible to cover the entire research area by using self-administered questionnaires for the survey of secondary pupils and postal questionnaires for the recent school leavers' survey. A questionnaire for both S.1 and S.4 pupils was first piloted extensively in parts of rural Aberdeenshire and with pupils from an area of Sutherland that did not form part of the research area. After revision, the questionnaires were distributed through the secondary schools with their completion being supervised by members of the school staff. The type of analysis we wished to carry out falls into two main parts. Firstly we wished to make a comparison of S.1 and S.4 pupils in terms of their attitudes towards their home districts, their perception of local employment opportunities and their job and migration expectations. Secondly, among the S.4 pupils we hoped to identify the characteristics of those who look forward to leaving their home districts, those who expected themselves to be reluctant migrants and those who anticipated remaining in their home districts once they had left school. Distribution of the questionnaires to the schools took place during the summer term of 1974 and completed questionnaires were returned by 996 S.1 pupils and 831 S.4 pupils. The smaller number of S.4 pupils was presumably due largely to pupils leaving school after attaining the age of 16 during the school session.

c. The Survey of School Leavers

For the final survey we obtained from the secondary schools serving the research area lists of pupils who had completed their school education during

or at the end of session 1971–72. A list of 899 school-leavers was obtained and questionnaires were posted to their last known home addresses. The major problem associated with the use of postal questionnaires is the danger of a high non-response rate: the experience of others' indicates that even without the added difficulty of dealing with a group containing a high proportion of migrants, the response rate could only be expected to be between 40% to 60%. After following-up new addresses and sending reminders and new questionnaires to all who did not reply to the first letter, a response of 75% was achieved. It must be suspected that those who have migrated represent a disproportionate number of the 25% of whom we know nothing. However, the level of responses obtained is sufficiently high to make generally valid conclusions about migration and job choice among recent school-leavers.

The objective in carrying out a survey of recent school-leavers was to identify those who have left their home districts, the type of school-leaver who is most likely to move and conversely the type who is most likely to stay. Likewise, we wished to identify those areas which had a particularly high rate of out-migration and those that were successful in retaining school-leavers, as well as plotting the main migration routes. The school-leavers' survey enables a broad comparison to be made between the experiences of those who have left school with the expectations of those who were still pupils.

The Research Area

An emphasis on the factors affecting the out-migration of young people from the peripheral areas determined that the research area would be drawn from among those parts of the region that are outwith daily travelling distance of the three main growth centres—the Moray Firth coast, the Wick-Thurso axis in Caithness and the immediate Fort William area of west Inverness-shire. In addition Shetland was excluded from the research area because of the expectation of virtually immediate development associated with North Sea oil. Much of the county of Argyll is sparsely populated and remote, but on balance, the whole county was excluded from the research area mainly because of the type of argument that led under local government reorganisation to the inclusion of most of Argyll in the new Strathclyde region rather than the Highland region. Of all the crofting counties Argyll has the strongest and most direct association with the urban, industrial west of Scotland and its links with the other crofting counties are relatively underdeveloped. One indication of this is that the Directors of Education of the other mainland Highland authorities meet regularly to discuss common problems but it is not the practice of the Director of Education for Argyll to attend these meetings.

Caird regards the whole Highland region as forming the problem fringe of the 20th century characterised by 'remoteness, poor transport facilities and continuing depopulation', but within the region he defines three different environments.

> "... the "inner" favoured areas form a long, discontinuous arc stretching from Kintyre, Islay and Lorn through Speyside, to the Moray Firth coastlands. Caithness and the mainland of Orkney are transitional: in the remainder of the area the "outer", less favoured, part is the real periphery where resources are fewer and development and reversal of depopulation more difficult. The "inner" and

transitional areas have broad similarities with Lowland Scotland, with larger settlements, towns rather than villages, farms rather than crofts; in the "outer" area, apart from the northern archipelagos, Gaelic was for long the everyday spoken language and still is in the crofting townships of Skye and of the Outer Hebrides, and there and on the northwest coast and in the Hebrides and Shetland the croft is the dominant settlement unit."[5]

The research area that was finally selected is drawn entirely from Caird's outer zone. It stretches down the west coast of the mainland from Durness in the north to Mallaig in the south, including the inner Inverness-shire islands and the whole of the Outer Hebrides. In the north the whole of the Orkney group is included. Not only are the three main growth areas within the Highland region excluded but only the two small burghs and administrative centres of Stornoway, Lewis and Kirkwall, Orkney, have populations over 4,000. Oil related development is likely to go ahead on a number of sites in Orkney, Lewis and Wester Ross but at the time of this study any developments were only being anticipated and were having at the most only a minimal effect. Within the Highland region both the Gaelic language and the land tenure system of crofting are concentrated in the research area.

Chapter 2

Education and Migration — A Continuing Concern

Concern about the relationship between education and rural migration is not new and has usually been expressed in terms of greater education leading to increased dissatisfaction with limited rural job opportunities and the rural way of life. Not only does education lead to dissatisfaction but it provides young people with skills enabling them to compete successfully in the urban labour market. The disservice that education does to the rural community, or more accurately to dominant rural interests, has been asserted since the early days of compulsory education. Armytage quotes an observation in 1898 by Sir John Gorst, M.P., who was Vice-President of the Committee of Council in Education:

"The farmer and the squire are no friends to elementary education. They associate agricultural depression and high rents with compulsory education, and they grudge to pay for that teaching which deprives them of servants and furnishes their labourers with wings to fly from the parish."[6]

In two reports issued in the first quarter of the present century dealing with rural depopulation, much of the blame was laid at the door of 'modern' education. In the Report on the Decline in the Agricultural Population of Great Britain, 1818-1906, the Forfar correspondent writes:

"Modern education has the inevitable tendency of leading the rural population to be discontented with the monotony of country life, and

the cities with their numerous amusements and bustle will have an ever-increasing charm for the better educated of the rural dwellers."[10]

Another correspondent from a rural area observed:

> "The present system of education in rural schools is unsuited to what must be the future position and career of the great majority of the children attending them, who must earn their living by manual labour. At fourteen they leave school with exalted ideas and a distaste for farm or domestic work."[11]

The same theme is taken up by the 1920 Report of the Committee on Women in Agriculture where there is general agreement among witnesses that the education given in rural schools did not promote an interest in country life and work. One headmaster is reported as saying, "The more schooling young people get the less interested they are in country life." Another remarked, "At present, education itself has the tendency to send young people to town, as there is little social life in rural districts, and nothing at all to attract anyone of ambition to remain on the land."[12]

Jac Williams has observed in his account of social change in a Welsh rural village during the period 1920-50 how the widening of educational opportunities may provide a means for individual social mobility but at a social cost to the local community.

> "The pattern of education that has developed during the present century has enabled them to 'get on' and 'getting on' inevitably meant 'getting out'. Individual members of the community profited from the educational opportunities that had become available for all in accordance with their abilities and aptitudes, but the community as a whole had been impoverished by the steady drain of talent and potential leadership from it into England's urban and industrial areas."[13]

The desire of young people from rural areas to move away to the excitement and wider job opportunities of urban areas, frequently to the chagrin of planners, has been observed in many different societies. In a study of 'The career plans of graduates of rural schools' in the U.S.S.R., Rekunov and Shlapak remarked upon the high percentage of young people who want to move to the city and obtain non-agricultural occupations.

> "Thus, there is a certain contradiction between the career plans of rural youth and the requirements of life. In particular, the aspirations of most graduates for work outside agriculture, as well as the excessive flow of youth from village to city, do not correspond to the requirements of our society's future development . . . . . "[14]

Abernethy in a study of southern Nigeria describes the relationship between education and rural depopulation in a Third World country that is undergoing relatively rapid urbanisation.

> "In addition to raising the vocational aspirations of the young, education has increased their desire to live in the city. The elements of this desire are well-known; the excitement and variety of the city, the opportunity for more interesting and higher-paying work, the freedom from parental and small-community pressures."[15]

In the context of social and economic development in the Third World, the 1960's was a decade of great optimism about the contribution that education could make in facilitating development and bringing about an improvement in living standards. In part the education system could be relied upon to provide the highly trained manpower necessary for a complex industrial society and, in combating the flight from the countryside, it was believed that by providing courses that were specifically oriented towards rural life and the rural economy, a significant contribution could be made to decreasing rural urban migration. Thus in 1963 Adam Curle wrote about education being an important means by which desirable attitudes for development could be fostered and also by working with governments, the education system could provide more agricultural scientists and glamorize agriculture by improving wages and conditions to such an extent that people would be attracted to agriculture and away from other opportunities[16]. By the 1970's such optimism in the efficacy of educational systems had very largely evaporated. Curle recanted[17] and in the 1974 World Year Book of Education, an issue devoted to the relationship between education and rural development, Forster and Sheffield observe:

> 'Historically, there can be little doubt that rural populations have resisted attempts to provide specifically rural or agricultural curricula in the schools. With much justification they have recognised that to accept such a situation would condemn them to a relatively disadvantaged position vis-a-vis urban populations in terms of opportunities for geographical, social and economic mobility. Quite simply 'separate is not equal' and rural dwellers have long known it. No amount of juggling with the curriculum of the schools, for example, is likely to alter the legitimate aspirations of rural children and their parents, or in some way tie them to the land."[18]

Clearly direct comparisons cannot automatically be made between the experience of Third World countries and the situation in the Highlands and Islands, but much of the content of the debate is the same. There is a common concern with rural migration and the extent to which the educational system does or could operate so as to increase or decrease the rate of population loss.

As well as studies of developing societies there has been work dealing with the migration of young people from rural peripheral areas in otherwise industrialised societies. Vellekoop[19] has reported on the migration plans and vocational choices of youth in a small New Zealand town; Schwarzweller[20] on education, migration and economic life chances of male entrants to the labour force from the low-income rural area of eastern Kentucky in Appalachia; and Hannan[21] has written about the forces influencing large-scale migration of Irish rural youth. All studies emphasise that any discussion of migration among these types of populations must pay attention to questions of job choice and the extent to which occupational aspirations can be fulfilled in the local home district. Thus Hannan concludes:

> "This process of local occupational selection has, in fact, proved a crucial variable in explaining individual decisions and in explaining why certain groups of individuals tend to be more migratory than others. This was true for both studies . . . . . If people are satisfied with their jobs and incomes, dissatisfaction with social provisions in the home community does not appear to influence migration behaviour to any great extent."[22].

Although there is a solid base of empirical studies on this aspect of the problem, there has been very little work done on explaining the influence that the actual pattern of educational provision could have on migration. Academic commentators have referred to the problem but there has been a lack of supportive data. Thus Marjorie Cruickshank explains how the traditional pattern of educational provision in the Highlands and Islands might act as a migratory push but actual evidence is not provided

> "The need to board away from home deters many parents from sending their children to selective secondary schools. Other parents, anxious to avoid the disruption of family life and the educational deprivation of their children uproot themselves and move elsewhere."[23]

In Devon, Lee[24] had conducted a limited exercise to test the hypothesis that school reorganisation is a cause of rural depopulation.

Similar problems to those found in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland are experienced in parts of Scandinavia, especially northern Norway and northern Sweden. Among Scandinavian researchers, Börjessen[25] indicates that the retention of local schools does not so much halt or reverse depopulation but may slow down the rate of loss. Rydberg[26] and the ERU Study[27] showed that among families having teenage children there was a preference to move instead of remaining resident in the local district while their children became school boarders. Scandinavian workers have tended to be relatively optimistic about the contribution that education especially in the form of curriculum content can make to population retention. Dahlgren[28] warns against the possibility of education increasing migration from peripheral areas and suggests that the problem of increases in the provision of education leading to migration could be overcome if the content of courses took the job structure of the region into consideration. One of the most conscious attempts to use the educational system as an aid to a policy of population retention is the Lofoten project of Hogmø and Solstad[29] of the University of Tromsø. The intention is to break away from the practice of centralised control over the curriculum that is a feature of the Norwegian education system. It is hoped that by implementing a curriculum that is more oriented to the local society, the pupils will develop a greater interest in local life and become more motivated to work at home rather than migrate to the urban population centres of southern Norway.

Recent Scandinavian developments have emphasised the need to make the schools responsive to the local society but the prevailing concern in the Highlands and Islands is with the effect of the educational system which encourages the development of attitudes and values among rural pupils which lead to their dissatisfaction with the way of life and job opportunities available in their home districts and which, consequently, results in migration. The school is identified as the main social institution responsible for indoctrinating the rural pupil with the values of the larger (predominantly urban) society. However, the public debate does not make clear whether the accusation is made against the educational system generally or whether it is limited to the context where pupils from remote areas attend schools in distant and more urbanised locations. Is it that the values prevailing throughout the school system are unsympathetic to the values that give the periperal areas their distinctive way of life? Or is the conflict between the values of the school and the values of the home district primarily limited to

situations where the pupils are educated in a social environment different from their home districts? The latter type of claim is often implicit in the objections made against pupils from remote west-coast or island localities being required to attend east-coast schools. Such arguments have been made against the practice of transferring pupils from remote parts of the west-coast of Lewis to the island main school in the administrative centre of Stornoway (population approximately 5000).

An example of the type of model that can be used to illustrate how the educational system enables the values of the wider society to penetrate the rural sub-culture is that of the cultural bridge. In discussing the function of education in a peripheral eastern mountain region of Kentucky, Schwarzweller and Brown[30] define a cultural bridge as an "institutional complex which, through communication, linkage and cultural diffusion spans the gap between cultural systems."

> "The school by teaching the normative patterns of the Great Society inculcates the youngster with the culture of the Great Society and through the process of assimilation and substitution, furnishes him with a cultural link with the Great Society, allowing him to become an agent of change in the rural community or to make an easier adjustment to urban life if he migrates."

Schwarzweller and Brown are not saying that the influence of the school is limited to the effects it has on changing the values of rural pupils. There is recognition that penetration into the rural subculture is accomplished by the pupil becoming an agent of social change in his local community. The process is one whereby there is continuous penetration of the values of the wider society into the local sub-culture.

There are three questions emerging from this part of the discussion that have particular relevance for the study. (1) Does the educational system generally act as an agent which introduces the values of the wider society into a sub-culture possessing a distinctive set of local values? (2) Is the pattern of educational provision, and especially the location of schools in areas that are distant and socially unlike the home areas of the pupils, the most important factor affecting changes in the values and aspirations of pupils? (3) Is it valid to assume that the peripheral areas constitute sub-cultures with their own values, or are the dominant values of the wider society diffused throughout the peripheral areas? These types of question are behind much of the concern that gave rise to the present study.

Chapter 3

The Demographic and Industrial Contexts

As the study is concerned with population loss especially among young people, it is necessary to provide some indication of the present demographic structure of the research area and identify recent changes. To provide this

context for the study, census data over an extended period will be reviewed. We will also examine the industrial and occupational structure of the research area and the region. Perhaps the most frequently quoted statistics referring to the Seven Counties compare its area with its population. Thus although the region represents 47% of the total area of Scotland it has a population of 282,900 which is 5% of the Scottish total and while the density of population throughout Scotland is 175 persons per square mile, in the Highlands the figure is only 20 persons. It is not surprising that depopulation has come to be regarded as the Highland problem and as Caird observes[31] the Highlands are unique in Scotland as being the only region where the 1971 population is smaller than in 1801. However, the decade 1961-1971 marked the first period since 1841 when the population of the Seven Counties actually rose and the point could be made that in percentage terms population in the region had grown at a faster rate during that decade than in Scotland as a whole[32]. This apparent success in reversing a trend should certainly not lead to any complacency. Sir Robert Grieve, the first Chairman of the H.I.D.B. recognised that the real test of development policies in the region was whether they were successful in retaining population in the peripheral areas of the west. "No matter what success is achieved in the Eastern or Central Highlands . . . . the Board will be judged by its ability to hold population in the true crofting areas."[33]. Despite the recent increase in population enjoyed by the region as a whole, Table 1 shows the continued decline of population in the research area. What is interesting about Table 1 is not just the indication that the research area has lost a significantly greater proportion of its population since 1851 than the Seven Counties as a whole but the phasing of the decline has been different. Indeed from 1851 to 1911 the research area retained a much greater proportion of its population than the region as a whole but from 1911 onwards there is a period of rapid population loss in the peripheral area. It is not within the scope of this study to offer an explanation of this type of development but it is possible to suggest that migration from the remoter areas may have been delayed partly

Table 1 **Population of the Research Area, the Seven Crofting Counties and Scotland from 1851 and expressed in percentage terms of the 1851 levels**

Date	Population of Research Area	Population of Research Area as % of its 1851 Population	Population of Seven Crofting Counties as % of its 1851 Population	Population of Scotland as % of its 1851 Population
1851	116,291	100	100	100
1861	113,867	98	96	106
1871	112,668	97	94	116
1881	114,564	99	93	129
1891	112,170	96	91	139
1901	107,651	93	89	155
1911	102,769	88	81	165
1921	94,609	81	82	169
1931	84,379	73	74	168
1951	76,224	66	74	176
1961	69,299	60	70	179
1971	64,741	56	72	181

due to a time-lag process in that those nearer the industrialising and urbanising centres migrated first and the remoter areas were not affected on the same scale until later. Also it might be that a subsistence based economy, the major features of which remain relatively unchanged, is more capable of retaining its population in the short-term than one undergoing reorganisation and rationalisation. However, it is clear that while population decline in the region has been checked, population decline in the peripheral research area still continues. At least one commentator[34] has suggested that one consequence of a development policy based on the industrialised growth centres of the east coast is a further decline of population in the peripheral west. The other general feature of population changes both in the research area and throughout the region is the decline of population in most of the landward areas contrasted with stability or actual population increases in the burghs[35], as in other Scottish rural areas. In a study of another peripheral area, north Norway, Hansen [36] describes a similar process taking place where population within the region increases in those areas that are within commuting distance of what he calls basic centres while the population declines in areas that are not within commuting distances.

It is necessary to offer a word of caution about the data presented in Table 2. As has already been indicated in Chapter I there are areas within the research area where it is necessary for children to live away from home for at least part of their secondary education. Such a practice is likely to lead to confusion on census night with a possibility that some pupils might be enumerated both in their home districts and in the district where they attend school and that others will be enumerated either at home or at school. However, this element of confusion should not be over-estimated and it is doubtful whether the overall pattern is distorted. Skye for example, receives some secondary pupils from the outer islands and only in exceptional cases do Skye pupils attend school on the mainland. Despite this the Skye figures are similar to those found in other parts of the research area.

Throughout the research areas the two senior age groups, especially the 65 years and over group, contribute a higher proportion to the total population than is the case in the region as a whole and very much higher in comparison with the situation throughout Scotland. A major feature of the population structure of the research area is the low percentage of the population that is accounted for by those in the 15—34 age group — the age group containing young workers and young families. While such data does not in itself prove that there is a high rate of out-migration from members of this critical age group, it does suggest that further examination is necessary. The decision to examine the population structure of the research area separately from that of the region is justified by the finding that the age distribution of the population of the research area differs from that of the region to about the same extent that the region's differs from the age structure of Scotland.

As one of the major concerns of the study is the migration of young people from the peripheral areas, it is necessary to determine the rate of population loss suffered by an age group as its members pass from childhood through adolescence to early adulthood. If the out-migration of young people is particularly acute in the peripheral area then it can be expected that the population loss experienced in the peripheral areas will be higher than among comparable age groups over the whole region. In order to compare the net population loss sustained by a cohort over time the 0—4 and the 5—9 age

Table 2 Population Age Structure Research Area (excluding part of the mainland of Inverness-shire), Seven Crofting Counties and Scotland

	–14 yrs.	15–34 yrs.	35–64 yrs.	65+yrs.
Isle of Lewis				
Lewis D.C.	3,510	2,840	5,705	3,115
	23.1%	18.7%	37.6%	20.5%
Stornoway S.B.	1,360	1,185	1,830	790
	26.3%	22.9%	35.4%	15.3%
Outer Inverness-shire Islands				
Barra, Harris, North Uist and South Uist D.C.'s	2,640	1,950	3,130	1,830
	27.6%	20.4%	32.8%	19.2%
Skye				
Skye D.C.	1,590	1,665	2,585	1,5[illegible]0
	21.6%	22.6%	35.1%	20.8%
West coast of Ross and Sutherland				
Eddrachillis and Durness, Assynt, Lochbroom, Gairloch, Lochcarron and South West D.C.'s	1,840	2,065	3,240	1,630
	21.0%	23.5%	36.9%	18.6%
Orkney				
Kirkwall and Stromness S.B.'s	1,555	1,565	2,205	940
	24.8%	25.0%	35.2%	15.0%
Landward D.C.'s	2,410	2,485	4,115	1,805
	22.3%	23.0%	38.0%	16.7%
Total % for Research Area	23.6%	21.8%	36.1%	18.4%
Total % for 7 Crofting Counties	24.8%	24.4%	35.2%	15.6%
Total % for Scotland	26.5%	26.7%	34.9%	12.0%

groups in the 1951 census were compared with the 20—24 and 25—29 age groups in 1971. At the beginning of the period the figures relate to babies and pre-secondary school-aged children but by 1971 the same group have completed their secondary education, many of them will be employed and some will have started to form their own families. This procedure only allows us to identify net population loss, a very small and insignificant proportion being made up by deaths within the population. Because it is only a measure of net population loss situations where outward migration is compensated for by in-migration do not show up in the figures. Thus in column three of Table 3 there is the percentage of population loss within the cohort over the period 1951-71 which is a measure of the excess of out-migration over in-migration during the two decades together with the small number of deaths within the cohort. Column four is similarly a measure of population change but as well as including the extent of net out-migration throughout all age groups, it also takes into account the excess of births over deaths throughout the period.

Table 3 Net Population 1951-1971

	Age Group	Column 1 1951 Pop.	Age Group	Column 2 1971 Pop.	Column 3 1951-1971 1951	Column 4 1951-1971 1951
Research Area:–						
Inverness-shire,	0–4	1,747	20–24	925	47.1%	
Outer Islands	5–9	1,631	25–29	880	46.0%	
and Skye	all ages	20,492	all ages	16,930		17.4%
Sutherland	0–4	171	20–24	135	21.1%	
peripheral	5–9	137	25–29	95	30.7%	
	all ages	2,089	all ages	1,920		8.1%
Ross-shire (mainland)	0–4	537	20–24	460	14.3%	
peripheral	5–9	519	25–29	410	21.0%	
	all ages	7,321	all ages	6,855		6.4%
Ross-shire	0–4	2,105	20–24	975	53.7%	
Lewis	5–9	1,772	25–29	875	50.6%	
	all ages	23,731	all ages	20,325		14.4%
Orkney	0–4	1,835	20–24	940	48.8%	
	5–9	1,771	25–29	1,035	41.6%	
	all ages	21,255	all ages	17,077		19.7%
Total for Research	0–4	6,395	20–24	3,435	46.3%	
Area (excluding	5–9	5,830	25–29	3,295	43.5%	
Inverness-shire	all ages	74,888	all ages	63,105		15.7%
mainland)						
Total for Seven	0–4	23,571	20–24	18,120	23.2%	
Crofting Counties	5–9	21,626	25–29	16,514	23.6%	
	all ages	285,786	all ages	276,780		3.2%

The data presented in Table 4 show the necessity of going beyond the figures for net population change within the region as a whole. For the Seven Crofting Counties the period 1951—1971 was one marked by a relatively slight decline of its total population. Even over the whole region the net population loss sustained by the 0—4 and 5—9 age cohorts over the twenty year period is much greater than the total population decline of the region. A dramatically more acute situation is revealed when concentration is focused on the research area. Not only has the total population declined in the peripheral areas but between 1951 and 1971 the size of the critical cohorts had reduced by over 40%. The decline is particularly high in the island areas of Lewis and Orkney where the total populations are relatively high compared with the whole of the research area. The areas down the western mainland that have smaller populations and experienced severe population loss at an earlier period, appear now to be more successful at retaining or replacing population among the critical cohorts. The disproportionate loss of population among the two cohorts has the effect of contributing to the age imbalance of the population that has already been observed. The population loss of the cohorts as their members pass from childhood to adolescence and then to early adulthood is in part a result of involuntary migration as children move away as a result of decisions taken by their parents. It appears that a

loss of this magnitude is a product of the inability of the local industrial base to provide job opportunities on a scale sufficient to retain local young people or to compensate for the out-migration of locals by attracting incomers. The acute dimensions of the problem in the research area cannot be adequately deduced from figures relating to net population changes at the level of the region as a whole.

The final comparison concerns the industry in which people resident in the research area find employment. The comparisons can be made between particular parts of the research area, the research area as a whole, the Seven Crofting Counties and Scotland. For the research area and Scotland the data have been obtained from the 1971 census data available through the small area statistics held by the University of Aberdeen Computing Centre. The figures from Scotland refer to 1961 and although a number of changes in classification were made between 1961 and 1971 useful comparisons can still

Table 4 Industry of Employed Persons — 10% Census Data 1971

	Agric. Forestry & Fishing	Mining	Manuf.	Constr. Util-ities	Trans-port	Distrib. & Services	Local & National Govern-ment & Defence
Research Area							
Isle of Lewis	30	—	151	40	29	143	20
Lewis D.C.	7%	—	37%	10%	7%	35%	5%
Stornoway S.B.	1	—	37	22	21	93	20
	0%	—	19%	11%	11%	48%	10%
Outer Inverness-shire Islands	49	—	9	76	29	82	50
	17%	—	3%	26%	10%	28%	17%
Skye and Small Isles	53	—	14	39	27	103	24
	20%	—	5%	15%	10%	40%	9%
West coast of Sutherland, Ross and Inverness-shire	70	1	16	55	49	168	25
	18%	0%	4%	14%	13%	44%	7%
Orkney	11	—	40	29	38	130	18
Kirkwall and Stromness S.B.'s	4%	—	15%	11%	14%	49%	7%
Orkney Landward Areas	209	—	23	47	27	114	10
	49%	—	5%	11%	6%	27%	2%
Total % Research Area	19.1%	0%	13.1%	13.9%	9.9%	36.3%	7.5%
Total % for Seven Crofting Counties	13.4%	0.3%	12.5%	12.0%	9.1%	44.5%	8.1%
Scotland 1961 Census	5.8%	3.9%	32.4%	7.9%	9.3%	35.2%	5.5%

(Numbers are those in the 10% sample; to estimate actual numbers, multiply by 10)

be made. Within the research area one of the noticeable features is the small proportion of people employed within manufacturing industry outwith the small burghs and the Isle of Lewis. The high proportion of people living in rural Lewis who are employed in manufacturing industry is virtually entirely accounted for by weavers working on looms in their own homes, (plus some Stornoway commuters). Factory employment in manufacturing industries in the research area is limited to the small burghs where it is far below the Scottish proportion. In other parts of the research area all forms of manufacturing industry rarely rise much above 5% of the total. The explanation behind the same percentage of people being employed in manufacture in the research area as in the region is the number of domestic weavers in rural Lewis. Indeed, over half the people employed in manufacturing industry in the research area live in rural Lewis.

The industrial structure of landward Orkney is dominated by agriculture and fishing with opportunities in other industries being severely limited and it appears that the extent to which population retention is possible in landward Orkney depends very heavily on the ability of small family farms to support school-leavers. The evidence from the data on population loss among the two cohorts strongly suggests that the agricultural economy of landward Orkney is unable to provide opportunities that would lead to the retention and absorption of school-leavers in local employment. Similarly, lack of population retention in rural Lewis may in part be attributed to inability of a home-based weaving industry to provide acceptable job opportunities for young people. Despite the presence of crofting on Lewis, only a small proportion of the employed population are classified as having occupations in the agricultural, forestry and fishing sector. This reflects the status of crofting as a supplementary activity in that a person who combines domestic employment in weaving with running a croft is classified as being employed in manufacturing industry.

With the exception of rural Lewis and rural Orkney the combined proportions of those employed under the headings of Construction and Utilities, and Distribution and Services exceed 50% of the total employed population in all sub-divisions of the research area. The significance of the large proportion of the population falling into these two classifications is not only that it contrasts with the lack of manufacturing employment — a situation that could be expected — but it emphasises the more surprising finding that with the exception of the landward area of Orkney, the research area is not one where employment in the primary industries of agriculture, forestry and fishing predominates.

This section does not claim to provide an exhaustive examination of even the main characteristics of the research area and the Seven Crofting Counties. No mention has been made of housing shortages and the high proportion of houses in some parts of the research area that fail to meet the 'tolerable standard'. However, from the evidence that has been presented it is possible to identify the research area as one where depopulation is taking place at a significantly higher rate than in the Seven Crofting Counties as a whole. Population loss is revealed as being severe when cohorts are followed over a period during which the transition is made from childhood through adolescence to early adulthood. The degree of loss is especially acute in the research area.

Chapter 4

The Structure of Secondary Education in the Seven Crofting Counties

In the first section of this report it was argued that the trend towards the centralisation of secondary provision, and in particular, the gradual disappearance of the traditional junior secondary school was already underway before 1965 when the Scottish Education Department issued Circular 600 on the reorganisation of secondary education along comprehensive lines. In this section the main features of the structure of secondary education in the Seven Crofting Counties will be outlined and special attention will be given to those districts which together constitute the research areas. Although it is difficult to make precise comparisons much of the debate in the region assumes that it is more expensive to provide a level of service comparable to national standards in sparsely populated areas than where population densities are higher. It could be expected that increased costs would arise as a result of a large number of small schools and their favourable teacher pupil ratios. Unless a decision is taken to deprive pupils in small schools of the benefits of ancillary equipment and teaching aids, the cost of providing these throughout a large number of small schools will be greater than if the same number of pupils were in a single school. In an educational system where there is reliance on a large number of small units the cost per pupil in terms of staffing and physical plant and resources may be expected to be greater than in a system where there is a smaller number of larger schools. In addition, at the secondary stage when pupils are brought in from the remoter areas, there is the likelihood of high transport and accommodation costs.

In the County of Sutherland where the population of 13,055 is dispersed over an area resulting in a population density of 6.4 persons per square mile the annual total spending per primary and secondary pupil is £264.51, whereas in the neighbouring county of Caithness which has a population density of 40.5 persons per square mile the comparative amount is £152.67. These differences cannot be entirely attributed to the contrasting population densities of the two counties. Differences over the whole range of education policy are likely to be reflected in spending levels. The table below gives the total annual spending per primary and secondary school pupil and lists each county's order in relation to the total of 36 Scottish education authorities. The ordering of the Seven Crofting Counties is consistent with the claim that sparsity of population increases the costs of service provision.

Within the Seven Counties it is possible to provide an education service at a national standard because of the willingness of central government to bear a large proportion of the costs. Central government support to local authorities is provided through the rate support grant and the formula used to determine the amount going to the Seven Counties recognises the additional costs that result from low population densities and provide for the Seven Counties a specially favourable level of financial support. In some rural areas where the education service is more dependent upon locally raised revenue, as in the United States, the pressure for reorganisation and centralisation of provision can come about for mainly financial reasons. In

Table 5 Total spending of the Seven Crofting Counties per primary and secondary pupil and their order in relation to all Scottish education authorities

Counties	Total spending per primary and secondary pupil	Order in relation to the 36 Scottish authorities
Sutherland	£264.51	1
Zetland	£205.30	2
Ross and Cromarty	£195.23	4
Orkney	£194.72	5
Inverness-shire	£168.85	14
Argyll	£158.72	25
Caithness	£152.72	28

Scotland the contribution made by central government to the local education budget means that the financial constraints on education authorities in the Seven Counties in determining their patterns of provision are not so severe.

The details of plans for secondary reorganisation are liable to change rapidly either as a result of central government policy or as local education committees change or modify their own policies. In the following review, the structure of secondary education that is described is that obtaining in early 1972, but subsequent changes have been included as far as they are known.

a. Argyll

Although no part of Argyll falls within the research area it has a pattern of secondary provision that is a product of its dispersed population and difficult lines of communication. Secondary education in the county is provided by a combination of three six-year secondary schools and five four-year schools. The six-year secondary schools are situated at Oban, Dunoon and Campbeltown. The Oban school has a roll of approximately 1,100 pupils of whom about 225 live in hostels or lodgings. The reason for the relatively high number of pupils attending Oban who live away from home is that is serves a catchment area that includes most of the Argyllshire islands. Dunoon has a roll of approximately 900 with 76 in hostels or lodgings and Campbeltown has approximately 700 with 17 staying away from home. Three of the four-year schools are on the islands of Tiree, Mull and Islay and two on the mainland at Tarbert and Lochgilphead. There are a number of options available to the parents of pupils attending the four-year schools. The pupils can remain at these schools for the full four years and take courses up to 'O' grade. They can either then terminate their formal education or transfer to one of the six-year schools. Alternatively, pupils who are considered to be of high ability can transfer to one of the six-year schools at the beginning of the third year. The third option is for parents living in the catchment area of one of the four-year schools to send their pupils to a six-year school from the beginning of secondary education but this is only possible if the parents meet any expense involved in transferring. Since the mid-1960's, three secondary schools have closed in Argyll. Bunessan school on the island of Mull closed in

1968 by which time only six pupils were in the secondary department which provided only courses in craft and homecraft subjects. Tighnabruaich school closed at the same time when 31 pupils were on the roll. Tighnabruaich school provided an academic course for the first two years after which the 'certificate' pupils transferred to Dunoon Grammar school. Those who remained at Tighnabruaich took non-certificate courses in technical subjects and homecraft. In 1970-71, Inveraray school closed. The school had offered courses up to 'O' grade and non-certificate courses in technical and homecraft subjects. When the school closed the roll was 48. Recent discussion on secondary provision in Argyll has centred around the alleged desirability of establishing a major secondary school on Mull that would enable all pupils resident on the island to obtain the first four years of their secondary education on Mull.

b. Inverness-shire

Inverness-shire has the most complex structure of secondary provision of all the Seven Counties. In some areas it is thoroughly comprehensive while in others it is rigorously selective. From Glenelg on the west coast of Inverness-shire all pupils are required to travel across the county and attend secondary school in Inverness from the beginning of secondary school. The cross county distance not only means that pupils have to live away from home but home visits are infrequent. Further south in the area surrounding Mallaig the local secondary school provides two years of secondary education for all pupils resident in its catchment area. At the end of the second year those selected for 'certificate' courses transfer to Lochaber High School at Fort William and are required to live away from home mainly in lodgings. Pupils selected for 'non-certificate' courses remain at Mallaig and recently the education committee has decided to introduce 'O' grade provision at Mallaig. Pupils from the small inner Inverness-shire isles go direct to Lochaber High School at the beginning of secondary education and home visits tend to be infrequent. As well as taking pupils from the remoter areas at different stages in their secondary careers, Lochaber High School acts as a six-year comprehensive for pupils living in the immediate Fort William area.

On the island of Skye, part of the county of Inverness-shire, secondary education is in a stage of transition. In response to Circular 600 the education authority decided that Portree High School would become a six-year comprehensive but because of the belief that further centralisation would be unacceptable to parents, three 'non-certificate' junior secondary schools at Broadford, Dunvegan and Staffin were to be retained. However, an increasing number of parents whose children were selected for 'non-certificate' courses at the junior secondary schools requested that their children should be allowed to attend Portree High School. Consequently, there was agreement between the education committee and the parents living in the catchment areas of the junior secondary schools that eventually all pupils on Skye would receive their secondary education at Portree High School. No date was fixed for the change of policy and shortage of hostel accommodation at Portree has delayed the decision. More recently, local parental opinion has appeared to favour the up-grading of the junior secondary schools to 'O' grade status in preference to centralised provision at Portree.

Between 1968 and 1971 five junior secondary schools on the mainland of Inverness-shire were closed. Four of these closures were in eastern areas of

the county outwith the research area, while the fifth was Kilmonivaig school which, although in the Lochaber district, is still outwith the research area. Throughout the period no secondary school was closed on Skye or on the outer Hebridean islands administered by Inverness-shire.

In the outer isles there still exists a relatively large number of small junior secondary schools. On the isle of Harris, the Leverhulme Memorial Junior Secondary School, and the small junior secondary school on the island of Scalpay both offer only four-year 'non-certificate' courses. Pupils resident in the catchment areas of these schools who are selected for 'certificate courses' attend the Sir E. Scott Junior Secondary School which, although on Harris, has some pupils who in order to attend have to live away from home. Sir E. Scott is comprehensive in nature but pupils who are regarded as potential 'higher' grade candidates are allowed to transfer to Inverness, the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway or Portree High School at the beginning of the third year. Those pupils remaining at Sir E. Scott beyond the second year follow either 'non-certificate' courses or courses leading to 'O' grade examinations.

The only secondary school on North Uist is Paible J. S. which is comprehensive for the first two years after which all 'certificate' pupils transfer to Inverness while only 'non-certificate' pupils complete their formal education on North Uist. Of the three secondary schools on South Uist, Daliburgh is comprehensive in character for the first two years after which potential 'higher' grade candidates transfer to Lochaber High School. Those who remain at Daliburgh can take courses leading to the 'O' grade examinations. The two other South Uist junior secondary schools at Lochdor and Eriskay offer only 'non-certificate' courses. In 1966 it was proposed that the small secondary on the island of Eriskay should close and the pupils transfer to Daliburgh where they would be accommodated in hostels. However, the new hostel has not been built and Eriskay remains open with a roll of 5 in 1972 73. The only secondary school on the island of Barra is Castlebay J. S. which offers 'non-certificate' courses. Barra pupils who are selected as potential 'certificate' course candidates transfer to mainland schools for the whole of their secondary education.

Throughout the outer islands the pattern of secondary provision involves selectivity. No pupil can complete six years of secondary education while remaining on the isle of Harris or any other Inverness-shire island in the outer Hebrides. An indication of parental opposition to the sole provision of 'non-certificate' courses in the island junior secondary schools has been the recent decision by the Inverness-shire education committee to introduce a limited number of 'O' grade courses into previously 'non-certificate' schools. Even with the limited amount of reorganisation that has taken place in the Inverness-shire islands, a number of very small junior secondary schools still persist. On Skye, Broadford J. S. had a roll of 33 secondary pupils in 1972 73, Dunvegan had 10 and Staffin 14. Of the Harris schools the Leverhulme Memorial J. S. had 25 secondary pupils while Scalpay had 17 and in South Uist the secondary department on the island of Eriskay had 5 pupils on its roll in 1972 73. More thorough reorganisaton is likely to take place shortly in the outer islands when the new Western Isles Island Council takes over as the education authority for the whole outer Hebrides in May 1975. There is a desire among members of the new council to build a new six-year school in the Uists so removing the necessity of 'certificate' pupils transferring to a mainland or Skye school in order to complete their

secondary education. Though the building of a six-year school in the Uists will not completely overcome the need for pupils to live away from home, it will enable the pupils to live in a more familiar cultural environment. Barra pupils attending any school on South or North Uist will be unable to return home daily.

c. Ross and Cromarty
Wester Ross and the Isle of Lewis

While Inverness-shire has maintained a selective policy in parts of its remoter areas, secondary education in Wester Ross and on the Isle of Lewis is entirely comprehensive. There are three secondary schools on the west coast of the Ross-shire mainland at Plockton, Achtercairn (Gairloch) and Ullapool. Plockton is the only six-year comprehensive secondary school on the west coast of the county and serves a catchment area from Torridon and Applecross to Loch Duich. Before Plockton was established as a six-year comprehensive school, pupils from Torridon to Loch Carron who were selected for certificate courses were required to transfer to Dingwall Academy on the east coast of the county and stay in hostels or lodgings. Pupils from this area still have to stay away from home for their secondary education but the school they now attend is on the west coast and home visits are possible most weekends. Achtercairn and Ullapool are both two-year comprehensive schools and at the end of the second year all the pupils transfer to Dingwall Academy and stay in hostels or lodgings. Prior to its change in status in 1972/73 Achtercairn had been a junior secondary school offering only non-certificate courses. Pupils who were selected for certificate courses had to make the transfer to Dingwall at the beginning of secondary school. Ullapool had tended to retain some pupils following certificate courses for the first two years but some parents took advantage of a parental choice option and transferred their children to Dingwall at the end of the primary stage. Pupils living in Achiltibuie and other areas of the west coast of Ross-shire that are not within the catchment areas of the three west coast secondary schools, receive the whole of their secondary education at Dingwall Academy and stay away from home.

The type of pattern evident down the west coast of Ross-shire is reproduced on the Isle of Lewis. Lewis is served by a single six-year comprehensive school, the Nicolson Institute at Stornoway and five two-year comprehensive feeder schools at Lionel, Shawbost, Back, Bayble and Lurebost. Some pupils from the remoter parts of the island attend the Nicolson Institute for the whole of their secondary education and stay in hostels in Stornoway. Reorganisation in Lewis has taken the form of closing a number of very small junior secondary departments and upgrading larger three-year junior secondary schools to the status of two-year comprehensives. Thus between 1967 and 1971 junior secondary departments were closed at Tolsta, Breasclete, Gravir, Bernera, Lemreway, Valtos, Aird and Laxdale. Reorganisation has meant that all pupils who live in the catchment areas of some of the old junior secondary departments now transfer to the Nicolson Institute at the end of primary school but the establishing of two-year comprehensives has meant that all pupils within their catchment areas attend a local school for the first two years of their secondary education where previously those selected for certificate courses left home to attend the Nicolson Institute at the beginning of their secondary education. In addition Lews Castle in Stornoway is a technical college for the island and a scheme of

day release courses is operated for pupils following both certificate and non-certificate courses at the Nicolson Institute. Prior to reorganisation Lews Castle used to take the more able third year pupils from the junior secondary schools and provide vocationally biased courses predominantly in navigation and textiles.

The objective behind reorganisation proposals throughout the county of Ross and Cromarty has been to introduce a fully comprehensive system but at the same time ensure that as many pupils as possible receive their first two years of secondary education in their home districts. The only increase in the number of pupils in the first year of their secondary education who had to live away from home came about with the closures of the secondary departments of Bernera, Breasclete, Gravir, Lemreway and Valtos. Even in 1965/67 these Lewis secondary departments had very small secondary rolls — Bernera 11, Breasclete 14, Gravir 11, Lemreway 4, and Valtos 15. It is perhaps partly as a result of the success of the two-year comprehensives that there is local pressure in both Wester Ross and Lewis to establish four-year schools in the rural areas as the first stage towards having full six-year schools at Ullapool, Wester Ross, and at Barvas to serve the rural west coast of Lewis.

d. Sutherland

The debate over secondary reorganisaton in the county of Sutherland has been prolonged and at times bitter. The Sutherland education committee have at times changed their policy but the underlying trend has been towards a system based on a single six-year comprehensive school at Golspie with a number of two-year comprehensive feeder schools. In May 1972 the Sutherland education committee agreed to a timetable which would centralise all secondary education in the county on Golspie High School by the beginning of session 1974/75. This state of affairs has not come about. Much of the local bitterness that marked reorganisation in Sutherland stemmed from the decision to downgrade Dornoch Academy from a six-year to a four-year school. At other times there were proposals to build a completely new complex in the middle of the county at Lairg but this plan was subsequently dropped. Throughout the whole period of reorganisation in Sutherland the position of pupils resident down the western coast line of the county — the part of the county in the research area — has not changed. Apart from a residual form of secondary provision at Lochinver there are no secondary departments down the west coast of the county and all west coast pupils transfer to the east coast at the beginning of their secondary education and live in hostels. The Lochinver secondary department is very small having 7 pupils in 1966/67 and 2 in 1972/73.

e. Caithness

In the county of Caithness secondary education is provided entirely by two six-year comprehensive schools, Wick High School and Thurso High School. Until the end of session 1966/67 there were in addition three junior secondary schools in the county at Lybster, Halkirk and Castletown. Despite the closure of the junior secondary schools and the centralisation of all educational provision in the two six-year schools, the compact population distribution of the county enables all but the occasional pupil to travel daily to school from home.

f. Orkney

In the Orkneys there are two six-year secondary schools at Kirkwall and Stromness. Pupils living on the larger of the other islands that make up the Orkneys are able to attend a local island Junior High School for at least the first two years of secondary education. Despite the small numbers involved, Pierowall Junior High School on the island of Westray has only 12 pupils in S.1. A common course is provided in the first two years of secondary education so that during the first two years there is direct compatibility between the course provided in the small Junior High Schools and the course provided in Kirkwall Grammar School and Stromness Academy. This provision is only made possible by the use of a group of peripatetic teachers of specialist subjects who fly from one island Junior High School to the next. Pupils living within the catchment areas of the Junior High Schools are allowed to transfer usually to Kirkwall Grammar School at any stage in their secondary career but are encouraged to do so at the end of the second year. For those pupils who remain at the local Junior High School beyond S.2, limited 'O' grade provision is made until the end of S.4. In some of the outlying islands like Rousay and Papa Westray that have very small populations no local secondary provision is possible. In some cases pupils can travel by boat daily to a Junior secondary School on a neighbouring island or transfer to Kirkwall or Stromness from the beginning of their secondary education. Inter-island travel by boat is dependent upon the weather and is therefore not very dependable. Pupils from Papa Westray who depend upon a daily boat journey to Pierowall School often find during the winter months that bad weather makes the trip impossible, in which case there is no alternative but to attend the primary school on Papa Westray until the weather improves. Similarly, bad weather during the winter months makes frequent journeys home to the outer islands from Kirkwall and Stromness very difficult.

g. Zetland

The Anderson Institute in Lerwick is the six-year comprehensive school for Shetland. In addition there are seven four-year secondary schools at Baltasound on Unst, Mid Yell on Yell and Symbister House on Whalsay serving the outer islands and Brae, Aith, Scalloway and Sandwick schools on Mainland. The only pupils going direct to the Anderson Institute after the completion of primary education are those living in the immediate vicinity of Lerwick. Only in exceptional circumstances may pupils resident in the catchment areas of the four-year schools transfer to the Anderson Institute in the first year of secondary education. For the first two years all pupils in the different secondary schools follow what is intended to be a common course and at the end of the second year parents decide whether they want their children to transfer to the Anderson Institute or remain at the local secondary school. The aim has been to eliminate early selection between pupils following certificate and non-certificate courses. Initially the intention was that no 'O' grade presentations would be made from the four-year schools but recently these schools have been allowed to make presentations in a limited number of subjects.

Prior to reorganisation the system operating in Shetland required pupils in the outer areas who were selected at the end of primary school as being 'certificate' pupils to leave their home districts and stay in Lerwick. Those who would have gone straight to the Anderson Institute now attend the local

Junior High School for the first two years. As in other parts of the Seven Crofting Counties reorganisation in Shetland has been carried out with the dual objective of not only introducing comprehensive education but also of enabling pupils to remain in their home districts for the first two years of secondary education.

Living away from home

Throughout much of the region the policy of introducing comprehensive secondary education has been combined with a policy of allowing pupils to remain in their home districts for the first few years of their secondary education. The survey of secondary pupils revealed that in session 1973/74, 86% of S.1 pupils resident in the research area attended schools which were within daily travelling distance of their homes. At the latter stages of secondary education there is a greater willingness on the part of education authorities to tolerate a higher degree of centralisation. Thus, only 67% of S.4 pupils attended schools in their own home districts. Most of the pupils who do live away from home can, nevertheless, return home relatively frequently by means of road transport. Indeed, 90% of the S.1 pupils who had to live away from home and 78% of the S.4 pupils reported that they made a home visit at least once every three weeks. Those having to make a sea crossing or who live in a particularly isolated part of the mainland face major difficulties that make frequent week-end visits home impossible. 8% (67) of the S.4 pupils have to make a sea crossing in order to return home but the greatest hardship is experienced by the 2% (24) of S.1 pupils who at the very beginning of their secondary education are separated from their homes by the sea. From the start of their secondary education these pupils will be unlikely to return home except for major school holidays. The number in this category may be small but for them the situation is acute.

Chapter 5

The Survey of Parents

The main objectives behind the survey of parents who had pupils attending either secondary or primary schools during 1971/72 were outlined in an earlier part of the report and the pattern of secondary provision and the main characteristics of the nine selected localities were also described. However, it is worth indicating at the beginning of this section the four main areas of interest:

1. The migration intentions of parents and their attachment to their present home districts;

2. Parental satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the local pattern of secondary provision and the reasons given for any dissatisfaction;

3. The demands made by parents of the school system and, in particular, their reactions to the possibility of school courses being provided which are specifically oriented towards local job opportunities;

4. Parents' perceptions of local job opportunities and the migration and job expectations that parents have for their own children.

The households were identified from the school rolls of the primary schools and the education authority records of names and addresses of pupils who were either resident in school hostels or stayed in lodgings during the school term. As a result of the incomplete nature of the data from the schools and the education offices, it was only possible to group the pupils into the appropriate households during the process of fieldwork interviewing. In most cases the mother was interviewed, as in other similar studies, and apparently there is no significant difference in responses if the mother rather than the father is interviewed. The major advantage in interviewing mothers is the saving of time and hence of cost. Mothers are available for interviewing during a greater proportion of the day than fathers, especially in areas where there is little full-time female employment. Where the mother was not available the father was interviewed, and in some cases where another relative had responsibility for bringing up the pupil, that person was interviewed. Households where the pupil was being fostered by a non-relative were excluded. The interview schedule was developed through a pilot series of interviews of parents living in the catchment area of Achiltibuie Primary School in Wester Ross, an area where the pupils transfer to an east coast school from the beginning of their secondary education. The slightly revised questionnaire was then administered over the summer of 1973 to the parents in the nine locations described on pages 13 — 14.

It has to be noted that the nine locations are illustrative of the research area in that they provide examples of different types of secondary provision and different geographical and industrial settings found within the research area. They are not statistically representative and aggregated percentages cannot be extrapolated to the whole research area. A finding that of all the parents interviewed 40% are satisfied with the pattern of secondary education provision in their own districts cannot be used to imply that a similar percentage throughout the whole research area is satisfied. This use of aggregated data is not only meaningless but is in some cases positively misleading. However, from the data collected in the individual locations it is possible to say which types of secondary provision are associated with high or low degrees of parental satisfaction. Throughout much of the statistical analysis it has been necessary to examine the relationships between variables separately in each of the nine locations. This in itself makes for difficulties in presentation since each analysis produces nine cross-tabulation tables. In this report the general relationship will be described, and where the general pattern does not obtain in particular locations this will be noted and commented upon.

The Parents

Before proceeding with the main analysis it is worth describing the basic characteristics of the parents in the nine locations as this will in itself indicate some of the differences in social composition between the individual areas.

Throughout much of the research area there is public concern that while many of the locally born population are required to leave their home districts in search of employment, there is at the same time an influx of immigrants who have no previous identity with the area. This problem is seen as being most acute where the immigrants are of retirement age. However, a high proportion of immigrant parents was not expected, and in virtually all the locations the overwhelming majority of households having school-aged children have strong ties to the local area. In all the five island locations of Lewis—Cross, Lewis—Uig, Barra, Orkney—Sanday, and Orkney—Rousay, over 80% of the parent households have at least one parent who was born in the local area. In the mainland areas of west Sutherland and south-west Ross the proportion is about 60%, with Mallaig having a relatively high 78% and Ullapool a relatively low 54%. There is no evidence that the nine locations possess a significant proportion of young families who could be described as ex-urbanites. In the island locations the percentage of families where both parents were born in urban areas is negligible. The highest percentage of households with entirely urban origins is provided by Ullapool which has 18%. The fact that so many of the households containing school children are ones where at least one parent was born locally may be seen as contributing to the preservation of some form of local cultural identity. At the same time, it is also an indication of the inability of the area to provide opportunities that are capable of attracting non-locals. The fewer and more limited the employment opportunities, the more likely is the remaining population to consist of locally born residents.

This local connection should not be taken to signify widespread parochialism in the sense of experiences being confined to a limited geographical area, or a particular way of life. With the exception of the two Orkney locations, a majority of the households in all the localities contained at least one parent who had at least two years' experience of living in an urban environment. In Barra, south-west Ross and Ullapool over 60% of the households had at least one parent who had this urban experience. The somewhat paradoxical situation arises where the child is growing up in a household which has local ties in that at least one of the parents is very likely to have been born locally, yet at the same time, at least one of the child's parents is likely to have lived for two years or more in a town or city. This type of pattern is compatible with a situation where there is a migration cycle of moving away to the towns and cities and then returning to the original home district with a spouse or actually returning to marry locally. The lack of urban living among the populations of the two rural Orkney locations can be interpreted in the light of the earlier finding that rural Orkney is heavily dependent upon agricultural employment particularly in the form of small family farms. This would suggest that those who do migrate to towns and cities from Orkney (Orkney has a very high out-migration rate) are unlikely to return at a later date. It is probable that school-leavers who can be absorbed and supported by the family farm remain in their home districts while other school-leavers are required to leave with little likelihood of being able to return.

All the nine locations represent different types of secondary provision, but they all have in common the fact that at some stage of their secondary education, at least some of the pupils will have to live away from home. If the parents of today's pupils had been required to live away from home themselves, it might be thought that this sharing of a similar experience would lead to parents being prepared to accept a traditional practice. In fact, the practice of pupils living away from home is a relatively new experience for

members of the survey households as in none of the localities is there a majority of households where at least one parent lived away from home during part of their secondary education. The two areas having the highest percentage of households where at least one parent lived away from home are west Sutherland (40%) and south-west Ross (38%) where all pupils are now required to live in hostels or lodgings from the beginning of their secondary education. In all other areas more than 70% of the households have no parent who lived away from home during their schooldays. Thus in Sanday (Orkney) where it is most likely that all pupils will transfer to a distant secondary school from the beginning of the third year of secondary education, as many as 90% of the households do not contain a parent who lived away from home while at school; and in Uig (Lewis) where all pupils now transfer to the Nicolson Institute, Stornoway, at the beginning of their secondary education and live away from home, only 21% of the households have a parent who has undergone the experience of living in hostels or lodgings during their schooldays. It cannot be claimed that the present situation is one where the present generation of secondary pupils are merely following their parents in moving away to live in hostels or lodgings. A limited amount of in-migration and more importantly the previously existing system of small local junior secondary schools (and a lower school leaving age) mean that the present day parent, even in the remoter areas, is unlikely to have lived away from home while at school. Where the division between those remaining in the local area for their secondary education and those who transfer to a distant school was based on a division between certificate and non-certificate pupils, there is the possibility that most of the present day parents are likely to have been educated locally. Those in the parent age group who were selected for certificate courses at distant centres are particularly likely to have migrated because of the limited local job opportunities for school-leavers with high formal academic qualifications. Thus in Barra where certificate course pupils have attended distant schools, 84% of the households do not contain a parent who was educated away. It is not surprising that a transfer to a distant school has been an indication of eventual permanent migration.

The west coast of the mainland and the western isles have traditionally been regarded as the strongholds of both the Gaelic language and crofting. The Orkneys has not been a Gaelic area and the predominant form of land use has been the small farm rather than the croft. Our evidence supports the claim that down much of the west coast of the mainland, Gaelic is very much on the retreat. If the pupil is to be brought up in a Gaelic speaking environment it is important that Gaelic should be the language of the home and that both parents should be capable of speaking the language. In the three mainland locations of west Sutherland, Mallaig and Ullapool, only between 9 and 10% of the households contained families where both parents described themselves as Gaelic speaking for at least part of the time. In the more remote area of south-west Ross which includes the Applecross peninsula, 24% of families had two Gaelic speaking parents. A completely different picture emerges in the outer isles which have a very high percentage of families where both parents are Gaelic speaking — 81% in Barra, 92% in Cross (Lewis), and 98% in Uig (Lewis). Only in the outer island locations are children likely to be brought up in a Gaelic speaking home.

In an earlier section reference has been made to the concentration of crofting in the research area, except for Orkney. The distinctiveness of crofting as a source of income is that it is carried on in conjunction with other

employment. Crofting provides supplementary income usually requiring about two days' work per week rather than full-time employment. As could be expected, in the Ullapool and Mallaig areas dependence upon crofting as a source of income is negligible. However, in the more rural areas of Uig (Lewis), Cross (Lewis), west Sutherland, and Barra, the proportion of households where the respondents defined themselves as obtaining an income from crofting was between 23% and 29%. The highest proportion was in south-west Ross with 33%. What emerges from these findings is that even in completely rural areas it is unusual for more than 30% of the members of the survey to describe themselves as obtaining any income from crofting. It is not part of this study to examine the importance of crofting in the lives of the people of the peripheral areas, but from the evidence of this particular section of the population, it appears that an attempt to establish the nature and degree of dependence of the local residents upon crofting would be worthwhile. This is especially so as much of the debate about possible development in the area is carried out in the context of its likely effect on crofting.

Parental attitudes towards home district and possible migration

One of the central concerns of this study is the extent to which parental dissatisfaction with a pattern of secondary education that requires some children to live away from home is a factor influencing a decision to migrate. In the analysis this particular issue is set in the wider context of the attitudes of the parents towards their present home districts and their attitudes and expectations of migration generally. The original intention was to identify a group of expectant migrants and then to investigate the reasons why they expected to move at any time during the next five years, and in particular to see if school provision was mentioned as a main reason. This intention was effectively frustrated by the simple fact that out of 532 respondents only 16 did not expect to remain in their present home districts throughout the next five years. The numbers and proportions expecting to stay or migrate in the nine locations are presented in Table 6 and it can be seen that in no area does the proportion of expectant migrants reach 6%. There is the possibility that although very few may expect to migrate in the relatively near future, a much larger proportion may have considered moving away in the recent past but eventually decided against it. In fact, this is not the case in that those who claim not even to have considered migrating over the past few years represent the overwhelming majority in all but two locations. Thus in west Sutherland, Cross (Lewis), Uig (Lewis), Barra, south-west Ross and Ullapool about 80% of the respondents in the individual areas claimed to not have considered migrating over the past few years. In Mallaig the comparable percentage was about 70% but in Sanday (Orkney) and Rousay (Orkney), the proportions dropped to 64% and 48%. In all locations, with the exception of rural Orkney, it is reasonable to conclude that for the overwhelming majority of parent respondents, migration is not even considered as a possible or likely course of action. So few parents have considered migrating that it is valueless to attempt any analysis of the factors likely to bring about a decision to migrate on the part of members of this category. Even in rural Orkney where the proportions considering migration were largest, employment considerations were cited most frequently with educational factors being in second place; and the actual numbers are so small that reliable conclusions about factors leading to thoughts of migration cannot be drawn. Throughout

Table 6 Do you expect to remain in this district over the next 5 years or so or do you expect to move?

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Expect to Stay	104 (89%)	36 (95%)	43 (92%)	68 (97%)	40 (95%)	19 (83%)	61 (92%)	58 (87%)	51 (82%)
Expect to Move	6 (5%)	0 –	2 (4%)	0 –	0 –	1 (4%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	3 (5%)
Don't Know	7 (6%)	2 (5%)	2 (4%)	2 (3%)	2 (5%)	3 (13%)	3 (5%)	7 (10%)	8 (13%)
	117	38	47	70	42	23	66	67	62

Table 7 Attitude of Parents to Leaving District

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Totally opposed to prospect of migration	70 (60%)	24 (63%)	21 (45%)	43 (61%)	24 (57%)	14 (61%)	49 (74%)	36 (54%)	30 (48%)
Qualified acceptance of migration	24 (21%)	3 (8%)	8 (17%)	10 (14%)	1 (2%)	0 –	9 (14%)	17 (25%)	15 (24%)
Eager acceptance of migration	20 (17%)	11 (29%)	12 (26%)	13 (19%)	17 (41%)	8 (35%)	8 (12%)	11 (16%)	17 (27%)
Other	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –
Don't Know	3 (3%)	0 –	6 (13%)	4 (6%)	0 –	1 (4%)	0 –	3 (5%)	0 –
	117	38	47	70	42	23	66	67	62

the locations generally there is no evidence that the requirement that pupils should live away from home does in any way result in the out-migration of parents and families from these areas.

As a general indication of their attachment to their present home district, the respondents were asked how they would feel if they had to move right away. Those who would be unhappy to leave their present home district are unlikely to consider voluntary migration, while both those who would be pleased to migrate and those who have a qualified acceptance of migration have an orientation towards their present home districts which make them potential voluntary migrants. The previous data have shown that there is very little intention to migrate and little consideration of migration as an option, but the importance of Table 7 is that with the exception of south-west Ross, there is a sizeable minority of about 40% or more who are not strongly attached to their present home districts and are therefore potential voluntary migrants.

There are a number of hypotheses that can be generated in order to identify the characteristics of those who are most likely to be potential migrants. Firstly, in relation to the pattern of secondary provision, it is reasonable to hypothesise that those parents who actually have pupils attending a distant secondary school will be more favourably disposed towards migration than those whose children are attending local schools. Secondly, it might be expected that the parents of households where neither the wife nor husband was born in the local district would be less closely tied to the district and so are more likely to be potential eager migrants. Thirdly, it is reasonable to expect that there is a relationship between parental attitudes towards migration and the expectations of parents about whether their own children will remain in the local district once they leave school. Despite the inherent attractiveness and reasonableness of these three hypotheses, they are not sustained by the evidence.

The reasoning behind the first hypothesis is that those parents whose children are actually living away from home regard this arrangement as one of the main disadvantages of living in a particular area and are consequently more likely to be favourably disposed to migration than parents whose children are at a local primary or secondary school. There is no evidence from the nine locations to suggest that parents who have a child living away from home are more likely to be potential eager migrants. What the data suggest is that in those areas where pupils transfer to a far distant school involving either a west to east or an inter-island crossing, the eager potential migrants are drawn mainly from those who have no children attending a distant school. It could be that the anticipation of separation from children causes greater concern and foreboding than the actual experience. Before the transfer to the distant school is made at the age of twelve, the parents might have a number of fears as to how the separation might affect the child and the family generally. Once the transfer has been accomplished most families find the situation does not lead to the problems and difficulties they anticipated. If this happens, having a child at a distant school is not likely to result in an increased enthusiasm for migration. Another possibility is that selective migration takes place and those who have children at a distant school constitute a residual population. Parents who are concerned about their children eventually having to live away from home would be more likely to make sure that they have migrated before the age of transfer is reached. However, the evidence that only a very small proportion of all parents actually expect to migrate over the next five-year period makes this explanation less plausible.

If the relationship between local ties and attitudes towards migration is examined, the simple hypothesis that those having local ties are likely to be opposed to migration while those without ties are eager migrants is not supported. The eager migrant category and the category of those opposed to migration contain a similar proportion of those having local origins and a similar proportion of those having no local origins. The third category of those having a qualified or reserved attitude to migration has a higher proportion of respondents whose households have no local origins than the other two categories. Respondents belonging to households where the husband or wife were born locally are more likely to reject the idea of migration out-of-hand than those belonging to households where neither is locally born. But households with local origins are also more likely to be potential eager migrants.

Similar patterns emerge when the relationship between previous residence in a town or city and attitudes towards migration is examined and between attitudes towards migration and the presence of locally resident extended kin. Thus those with locally resident kin and those whose experience is limited to non-urban areas are more likely to have a clearcut attitude towards the prospect of migration. It is either to be welcomed or rejected. Those with no locally resident kin outwith the nuclear family and those who have decided to live in their present home district after a period spent in an urban area are more likely to view the balance between the advantages and disadvantages of migration as problematic. Households which are less locally oriented socially are most likely to contain respondents who have a complex attitude towards migration and this is perhaps the result of experiencing in some detail different ways of life and conditions.

The third hypothesis is based on the assumption that the attitudes of parents towards the prospect of their own migration is related to whether or not they expect their own children to move away once they have left school. The nature of the relationship that emerges from the nine locations is that there is no pronounced difference in attitudes towards migration between those who expect their own children to remain and those who expect to migrate. In a later section data will be presented on the subsequent experiences of those who completed secondary school in 1971/72. This will provide us with some information on the frequency with which the family move as a unit compared with the single migration of the school-leaver. At this stage there is evidence for the suggestion that the attitude of parents towards their own possible migration is quite unrelated to their expectations about the future migration behaviour of their children. While parents may expect their children to become migrants this does not affect the attitudes of parents towards the question of their own migration and it certainly does not mean that those who anticipate that their children will move, will in turn be more likely either to expect to migrate themselves or be more likely to consider migration. The attitudes and decisions of parents towards migration appear to be virtually uninfluenced by the perceived likelihood of their own children's migration.

The decision to migrate is frequently the result of a long and complex process. John Saville[18] in writing about rural depopulation has warned against the difficulty of trying to explain migration in terms of a single variable and it is even more difficult to estimate the relative importance of a particular factor. In this study we have made no attempt to use data relating to recent migrants from the nine localities. An initial attempt to trace migrants was made but had to be abandoned because of the lack of success in

making contact or even establishing their new addresses. However, it should not be thought that if it had been possible to obtain completed questionnaires from a sufficiently large proportion of migrants it would have been particularly helpful in assessing the relative importance of dissatisfaction with the pattern of educational provision in the decision making process. The difficulty in relying on information provided by migrants is that the immediate precipitating factor may be less important in explaining a decision to migrate than a number of background factors of which the respondent may be only partly aware and unable to articulate. A further complication is the possibility of the respondent's experiences since migration resulting in him rationalizing the reasons and objectives behind the original decision. In the context of the present study, it is important to emphasize the very small number of respondents who actually expected to migrate. Clearly, some of those who expect to migrate will not actually leave, while as a result of changed circumstances some of those who expect to stay will move. If resentment at a particular pattern of secondary provision was an important factor bringing about a large amount of out-migration, the first indication would be a larger number of parents expecting to migrate than the survey actually revealed.

Parental attitudes towards secondary education provision

The pattern of secondary provision may not of itself bring about out-migration but this does not mean that parents are completely satisfied with the various types of regimes (all of which require some secondary pupils to live in hostels or lodgings) under which they live. There are a number of difficulties in asking questions concerning parental satisfaction with any aspect of an educational system. There is the possibility that the extent to which parents are satisfied will be determined more by how well their child is progressing at school rather than the actual pattern of provision. To try and overcome this difficulty the question was phrased so as to focus on the distinctive features of the local pattern of provision. Where all pupils attended a local secondary school for the first two years after which all transferred to a distant school, the question put to the parents was:—

> "I understand that when it comes to secondary education children from this area (spend the first two years of their secondary education at X school after which all the pupils transfer to Y school). On the whole are you satisfied or dissatisfied with this arrangement? If dissatisfied: what are you dissatisfied about?"

The number and proportion of parents who are satisfied and dissatisfied with the type of secondary provision affecting their area are presented in Table 8. There are wide variations between the individual locations in the proportion of respondents who report being satisfied with their local pattern of provision. What is surprising is that there does not appear to be a close relationship between the age at which pupils transfer or the proportion transferring and the number expressing satisfaction. Thus in southwest Ross where all pupils live away from home at the very beginning of their secondary education, 70% of parents expressed satisfaction with the situation, while in Uig (Lewis) where the pupils transfer at a similar stage, only 23% are satisfied. In Ullapool where all pupils remain in the local secondary school

Table 8 Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction with Secondary Educational Provision

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
General satisfaction	41 (35%)	23 (61%)	11 (23%)	17 (24%)	21 (50%)	2 (9%)	46 (70%)	28 (42%)	25 (40%)
General dissatisfaction	74 (63%)	15 (40%)	36 (77%)	52 (74%)	20 (48%)	21 (91%)	19 (29%)	38 (57%)	36 (58%)
Don't Know– Others	2 (2%)	0 –	0 –	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	0 –	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)
	117	38	47	70	42	23	66	67	62

until the beginning of the third year of secondary school, 40% of parents are satisfied while in Cross (Lewis) which has a similar arrangement, the proportion is 61%.

In considering the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a pattern of secondary provision, we must recognise the importance of any comparison made by the parents. In other words, parents in two locations living under a pattern that is formally the same, may differ considerably in their degree of satisfaction if the compared alternative of the parents in one location is defined by them as being preferable to the existing pattern, while the alternative in the other locality is defined as less acceptable than the present system. In Ullapool, there have been demands for upgrading a two-year comprehensive school to a four-year comprehensive, while in Cross the comparison is made with the time when some pupils left home at the beginning of secondary education while those who remained at the local school were only provided with non-certificate courses. Thus in Ullapool, the defined alternative is viewed favourably so that a relatively low proportion are satisfied with the present situation, while in Cross the alternative is unpopular and consequently a higher proportion are satisfied with things as they are.

Uig (Lewis) is one of a decreasing number of areas on the island that are not covered by two-year comprehensive schools. The Uig parents can be expected to feel relatively deprived in relation to parents in other parts of the island, but in south-west Ross where transfer takes place at the same stage, the proportion who are satisfied is much higher, indeed, the highest for all the localities. In south-west Ross where the pupils are educated within the same cultural and geographical west-coast sub-area the historically available alternative has been a west-coast — east-coast transfer to the more distant Dingwall Academy. A comparison of available alternatives means that relative deprivation is high in Uig and low in south-west Ross.

One particularly interesting example of how a concept like relative deprivation can be used to make sense of initially bewildering findings is provided by the Ullapool and west Sutherland results. Although the two localities have different patterns of provision the proportion of satisfied parents is nearly the same. At least part of the explanation is likely to lie in the fact that in both localities the existing situation is defined as being less attractive than the possible alternative. In west Sutherland there have been a number of attempts to establish a pattern of secondary provision that would enable pupils to be educated nearer their homes, and just over the county boundary at Ullapool there is the example of a local two-year comprehensive. Although the Ullapool school may increase the feeling of relative deprivation among the west Sutherland parents, the Ullapool parents in turn feel relatively deprived because of the belief that they could reasonably expect a four-year school.

In addition to the importance of local available comparisons it is necessary to examine the variations between the localities in light of the differences that exist within what are formally similar patterns of provision. Thus the area that has the highest proportion of satisfied parents (south-west Ross) and the area that has the lowest proportion of satisfied parents (Rousay, Orkney) have formally similar patterns of provision. In both cases, all the pupils in the area live away from home as soon as they commence secondary education. However, this one formal similarity ignores a number of significant

differences. The pupils from Rousay have to leave their own island and transfer to the mainland of Orkney, a journey that makes home visits, particularly in winter, difficult and infrequent. The move from Rousay to Kirkwall is also a move from a small rural island to a relatively large urban environment. In south-west Ross the transfer to secondary school still involves living away from home but Plockton High School is situated in an area very similar to the home areas of the pupils. The centralised school is within the same social, geographical and cultural area as the homes of the pupils and good communications make frequent home visits possible.

There are two other locations that deserve special explanation — Barra, and Mallaig. On Barra, pupils are selected at the start of their secondary education for a certificate course in schools outwith the island or for non-certificate courses in the local secondary school. During the debate on secondary reorganisation, it has been claimed that a system that enables non-certificate pupils to remain in their home areas while more academic pupils transfer to centralised schools is most appropriate to the needs of the remoter areas. However, among the Barra parents such a pattern is profoundly unpopular and its unpopularity is a product of both the fact that some pupils have to leave the island and of the limited nature of the courses provided in the local school. Mallaig could be expected to have a higher proportion of satisfied parents as all pupils attend the local school for the first two years and when the pupils have to leave home they transfer to Lochaber High School situated on the west-coast in nearby Fort William. In some ways, the Mallaig situation might be thought to have some advantages over south-west Ross but there are two features of the Mallaig situation that are unpopular with parents. Firstly, selection takes place at the end of the second year and only 'certificate' pupils transfer to Lochaber; and secondly, most of the Mallaig pupils have to live in lodgings in Fort William rather than in hostels and this is a major cause of concern among parents. The two examples where 'non-certificate' pupils remain in a local school for the whole of their secondary education are not areas where there is a high degree of parental satisfaction.

Despite the need to take into account the importance of perceived relative deprivation in determining the proportion of satisfied parents, it is possible to formulate a statement on the general relationship between the pattern of secondary provision and parental satisfaction. Where all pupils receive the first two years of their secondary education in a local school, a higher proportion of parents are satisfied with the pattern of provision than where any pupils are required to transfer to a distant school at the beginning of their secondary education. The exception is provided by the parents of south-west Ross who are extremely satisfied with a pattern of provision based on all pupils leaving home at the beginning of secondary school. As we have seen, in south-west Ross not only is the form of centralisation unusual in that it is within a broadly homogeneous social and cultural area, but the available comparison operates in favour of the present regime. The combination of these two factors must largely account for the widespread satisfaction of south-west Ross parents despite their pupils having to move into hostels once they transfer from the primary schools.

Parents and the function of secondary education

There are two main arguments that have dominated the debate about the function of secondary education in the Highlands and Islands. The first has largely been a reaction to the limited job opportunities available in the region

Table 9 Should Schools prepare Pupils to Leave or Stay?

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Schools ought to prepare pupils to move and get jobs in other areas	74 (63%)	10 (26%)	39 (83%)	46 (66%)	26 (62%)	12 (52%)	55 (83%)	36 (54%)	49 (79%)
Schools ought to prepare pupils to stay and remain living and working in their home districts	14 (12%)	17 (45%)	2 (4%)	14 (20%)	8 (19%)	0 –	1 (2%)	12 (18%)	9 (15%)
Both, depends on the individuals	13 (11%)	0 –	2 (4%)	1 (1%)	5 (12%)	8 (35%)	6 (9%)	12 (18%)	2 (3%)
Others	9 (8%)	5 (13%)	0 –	3 (4%)	0 –	0 –	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	0 –
Don't Know	7 (6%)	6 (16%)	4 (9%)	6 (9%)	3 (7%)	3 (13%)	3 (5%)	6 (6%)	2 (3%)
	117	38	47	70	42	23	66	67	62

generally and particularly in the remoter areas. As a response to poor local opportunities, education has been seen as the means by which local pupils can obtain the necessary skills and qualifications enabling them to compete successfully in a wider labour market. There is the assumption that for a large number of young people migration is inevitable and that the best service the schools can provide is to make sure that when young workers leave home in search of employment they are not at a disadvantage when competing with school-leavers from the towns and cities. The second argument accepts that pupils who are destined for middle-class and professional occupations, will find great difficulty in obtaining suitable local employment. However, the critical difference is the assertion that the educational system can aid policies of population retention by encouraging those who presently leave the area in search of skilled and unskilled employment in the urban areas to remain and seek local employment. Proponents of this position argue that local industries, particularly fishing and small industrial ventures, can be expanded relatively easily if a trained work force is available and employment could be provided for those schoolleavers who wish to live and work locally. The central problem is seen as being the devaluation by local young people of the type of jobs available in their home districts and even the local way of life. In this argument, the function of the school is to provide a context in which the pupils will develop an appreciation of their own way of life and a desire to remain living and working in their home areas. More specifically, the schools should provide courses that prepare pupils for employment in local jobs.

The questionnaire provided a means by which it was possible to investigate the opinions of parents as to what the schools should be doing. Parents were questioned on the general issue of whether the schools should be concerned with preparing their pupils so that they will remain living and working in their home districts or whether the emphasis should be on preparing them so that they can move and get jobs in other areas. The response of the parents is presented in Table 9 and it is evident that in most of the individual locations a large majority of parents reject the idea that the schools should emphasise the preparation of pupils for local employment and residence. The most obvious exception to the general pattern of responses is in Cross (Lewis) and here the higher percentage favouring a locally oriented education can be explained by the nearness of Cross to Stornoway, the main service centre on the island. Where job opportunities are limited, parents expect the education system to provide pupils with the skills and qualifications necessary for them to compete successfully with other pupils in the wider labour market. The rejection of locally oriented education is more apparent when parents are asked if they want the schools to provide vocational courses specifically intended to train pupils for local employment. In asking this type of question it is useful to distinguish between those who would support the general policy of providing locally oriented vocational courses and those who would actually be in favour of their own children following such a course. Even when the question was put in the most general terms of whether such courses should be provided, the response was markedly unenthusiastic. When the respondents were asked the specific question of how they would feel about their own children following such a course there was a further evaporation of enthusiasm (Table 10). Only the Cross parents show any significant support for the idea of their own children following courses designed to prepare pupils for local jobs. It should be added that the Cross parents did not refer to courses in weaving or agriculture but to courses that would enable their

children to seek skilled manual jobs, for example, as joiners and mechanics in Stornoway. When these questions were asked in areas like Uig, south-west Ross and west Sutherland, one of the most frequent reactions of respondents was an initial slightly bemused look followed by a statement pointing out to the naive questioner that there were few local jobs worth talking about and virtually none that required any form of training or special courses. Throughout the area it is not just the case that parents demand that the school system should provide the means of obtaining social mobility and that there is a recognition that social mobility will inevitably mean geographical mobility. Parental rejection of locally oriented vocational courses is indicative of a belief among parents that local job opportunities are limited and unattractive. The primary concern is to make sure that if the school-leaver is required to migrate he will have had the education that will enable him to obtain employment in competition with young workers from a much wider area. In the following section the perceptions that parents have of local job opportunities will be reported, but while there is a belief that many young people will have to seek jobs elsewhere, it is unlikely that there will be much support for vocational courses aimed at preparing pupils for local jobs.

Parental perceptions and expectations

In this section we are concerned with parental perceptions of local job opportunities for school-leavers and whether they think that most school-leavers remain living and working locally or move away. Following this, the actual job and migration expectations that the parents have for their own children will be examined. The results of asking parents to list locally available jobs are presented in Tables 11, 12 and 13. The most obvious immediate finding is that throughout the nine localities parents have a very pessimistic view of the range and quality of jobs provided by the local economy for school-leavers. Thus in all the areas parents perceive an almost complete lack of non-manual employment. The only non-manual opportunities that are thought to exist are secretarial and clerical employment for girls in the three service centres of Stornoway, Mallaig and Ullapool. The lack of any parents mentioning a local non-manual occupation for either male or female school-leavers in six of the nine localities is an indication of the severely restricted range of local employment as seen by the parents. However, in rural, peripheral areas generally, parents are more likely to accept that any school-leaver seeking non-manual employment will have to look outwith his home district. The critical problem facing the surveyed localities is revealed by Tables 12 and 13. In all areas but Cross, Mallaig and perhaps Ullapool, only a small minority of parents mentioned skilled manual jobs opportunities as being available. Parents see local opportunities for boys as consisting almost entirely of unskilled and semi-skilled manual job (Registrar General's Social Class IV and V), and in Uig the employment base is thought to be so undeveloped that 79% responded that there were no local jobs for boys.

Despite the three small pools of non-manual employment, the prospects for girls are perceived as being even worse. Thus where job opportunities exist for girls they are seen as being almost entirely limited to semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. Even within these categories the available opportunities were thought to be heavily dominated by casual and seasonal work in hotels or shops. The greater pessimism about employment for girls is shown by the higher proportions of parents who see no local opportunities as being available for girl school-leavers.

Table 10 Attitudes of Parents to locally oriented vocational school courses

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
In favour of general provision of local vocational courses	15 (13%)	12 (32%)	1 (2%)	9 (13%)	8 (19%)	2 (9%)	1 (2%)	12 (18%)	3 (5%)
Would be in favour of own child following a local vocational course	7 (6%)	11 (29%)	1 (2%)	8 (11%)	7 (18%)	2 (9%)	1 (2%)	4 (6%)	1 (2%)

Table 11 Parental Perceptions of Local Available Job Opportunities

	Non-Manual Employment cited as available locally for boys		Non-Manual Employment cited as available locally for girls	
West Sutherland	0	–	0	–
Lewis (Uig)	0	–	0	–
Lewis (Cross)	1	(3%)	12	(32%)
Barra	0	–	0	–
Orkney Sanday	0	–	0	–
Orkney Rousay	0	–	0	–
South-west Ross	0	–	0	–
Mallaig	0	–	13	(19%)
Ullapool	4	(6%)	11	(18%)

Table 12

	Local Skilled manual employment for boys cited		Only local Unskilled manual employment cited		'Nothing' for boys	
West Sutherland	9	(8%)	91	(78%)	16	(14%)
Lewis (Uig)	6	(13%)	4	(9%)	37	(79%)
Lewis (Cross)	30	(78%)	0	–	4	(11%)
Barra	0	–	53	(76%)	17	(23%)
Orkney Sanday	1	(2%)	27	(64%)	0	–
Orkney Rousay	0	–	17	(74%)	0	–
South-west Ross	9	(14%)	46	(70%)	10	(15%)
Mallaig	27	(40%)	40	(60%)	0	–
Ullapool	14	(23%)	42	(68%)	2	(3%)

Table 13

	Unskilled manual Employment for girls cited		'Nothing' for girls	
West Sutherland	103	(88%)	14	(12%)
Lewis (Uig)	0	–	47	(100%)
Lewis (Cross)	10	(27%)	16	(42%)
Barra	23	(33%)	47	(67%)
Orkney Sanday	9	(22%)	33	(79%)
Orkney Rousay	15	(65%)	7	(30%)
South-west Ross	53	(80%)	13	(18%)
Mallaig	51	(76%)	3	(5%)
Ullapool	49	(79%)	1	(2%)

The jobs that parents reported local school-leavers as having moved away to obtain, contrasted sharply with the type of jobs that were seen as being provided by the local economy. Invariably, the list of jobs that local school-leavers had obtained by moving away was dominated by non-manual, middle-class occupations and skilled manual jobs. Certainly, there is in the minds of many parents a belief that poor local job opportunities mean that any school-leaver who desires anything but menial manual employment will be required to migrate. The employment base in the peripheral localities is so undeveloped that migration has to be considered as a likely course of action even if the aspiration of the school-leaver is for nothing more than a skilled manual job. As one mother in west Sutherland said, "You have to go to the east coast even to be a joiner."

Table 14 Combination of Destination of Boys and Girls

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Most boys and girls move	96 (82%)	22 (58%)	47 (100%)	70 (100%)	35 (83%)	20 (87%)	58 (88%)	7 (10%)	32 (52%)
Most boys but not most girls move	11 (9%)	2 (5%)	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
Most girls but not most boys move	5 (4%)	6 (16%)	0 –	0 –	7 (17%)	1 (4%)	3 (5%)	27 (40%)	13 (21%)
Neither most girls nor most boys move	4 (3%)	8 (21%)	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	3 (5%)	31 (46%)	15 (24%)
Others	1 (1%)	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 (4%)	1 (2%)	0 –	0 –
	117	38	47	70	42	23	66	67	62

Table 15 Parental Expectations of the Migration intentions of eldest Son at school (Only those Parents with a school-aged Son)

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Migrate	48 (60%)	15 (55%)	17 (53%)	31 (60%)	9 (32%)	9 (60%)	27 (65%)	17 (37%)	23 (62%)
Stay	18 (22%)	6 (22%)	4 (12%)	5 (9%)	14 (50%)	3 (20%)	4 (9%)	11 (24%)	3 (8%)
Don't Know	13 (16%)	6 (22%)	11 (34%)	15 (29%)	5 (17%)	3 (20%)	10 (24%)	17 (37%)	11 (29%)
	79	27	32	51	28	15	41	45	37

Table 16 Parental Expectations of the Migration intentions of eldest Daughter at school (Only those Parents with a school-aged Daughter)

	West Sutherland	Lewis Cross	Lewis Uig	Barra	Orkney Sanday	Orkney Rousay	South-west Ross	Mallaig	Ullapool
Migrate	45 (69%)	12 (52%)	18 (56%)	33 (58%)	32 (76%)	8 (66%)	38 (76%)	34 (68%)	15 (46%)
Stay	7 (10%)	7 (30%)	1 (3%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	1 (8%)	2 (4%)	5 (10%)	7 (21%)
Don't Know	13 (20%)	4 (17%)	13 (40%)	20 (35%)	9 (21%)	3 (25%)	10 (20%)	11 (22%)	10 (31%)
	65	23	32	56	42	12	50	50	32

Keeping in mind the pessimistic perceptions that the parents have about local job opportunities, it would not be surprising if they were to perceive their home districts as areas from which most school-leavers migrated. Table 14 shows that with the exception of Mallaig, the majority of parents in the individual localities consider that a majority of both male and female school-leavers move away from their home districts. The more optimistic view taken by Mallaig parents especially with regard to the retention of male school-leavers is a product of the employment opportunities generated by Mallaig being a busy fishing port. The general situation is one of extreme pessimism concerning the type of jobs that are available locally for school-leavers, together with an acceptance that most school-leavers are likely to migrate. The combined significance of these findings is of crucial importance in the study because it means that the pupil is growing-up in an environment where his parents define local employment as providing only severely limited opportunities and the local home district as one from which most school-leavers are likely to migrate. These generalised perceptions create a context for the pupil in which migration expectations are likely to be strong.

Considering their pessimism about local job opportunities it can be expected that many parents would anticipate that their own sons and daughters would move away by the time they attained adulthood. Parents were asked whether they expected that their oldest son and daughter, presently at school, would be living in their present home district when they were about 25 years old. The responses are shown in Tables 15 and 16. A striking feature of Table 15 is that in all but two of the areas more than two-thirds of the parents had a definite expectation about whether their sons would stay or move. With the exception of Sanday and Mallaig an overall majority of the parents considered that their eldest son would migrate. Two of the areas that have among the lowest percentage of parents who expected their sons to stay are, not surprisingly, extremely peripheral island areas — Lewis Uig and Barra. The actual numbers involved in Orkney Sanday are small but there is a suggestion that the relatively high proportion of sons expected to stay might be evidence of the 'holding power' of the Orcadian small family farm. The other interesting comparison is between Mallaig and Ullapool. Both are small towns but differ significantly in terms of their industrial structure and the social characteristics of their populations. In Mallaig 36% of the fathers were employed either in fishing or in occupations that were ancillary to fishing, while in Ullapool the proportion employed in the same category only 15%. In Mallaig 24% of the fathers were engaged in non-manual occupations while in Ullapool the proportion was 32%. Households in which the husband or wife were born in the immediate research area totalled 78% in Mallaig but only 54% in Ullapool. Thus Mallaig which has a population with strong local origins, a working class composition and a well developed occupational base in a prosperous working class industry, a relatively low proportion expect their eldest sons to migrate. In more middle class Ullapool there is a high proportion of incomers and the percentage expecting their eldest sons to migrate is higher.

When parental expectations about daughters are examined it is found that with the exceptions of Cross and Ullapool, the proportion expecting them to stay is not only low but lower than was expected for sons. This finding is consistent with the work of Hannan[19] in rural Ireland who found that the migration rates and migration intentions of rural girl school-leavers are higher than those of rural boys. Although the actual numbers are small it is tempting to explain the higher percentage of Cross parents who expect their

daughters to remain in the home district as being related to the nearness of Stornoway and a greater variety of occupational opportunities. It is also interesting to note that although a relatively high proportion of Sanday's eldest sons are expected to remain on the island this is not the case with the eldest daughters. This is a finding that is compatible with the small family farm situation, where the son may have the opportunity of remaining on the farm but there are virtually no full-time employment opportunities for girls. Despite the individual differences between localities, the general situation is one where a relatively small proportion of parents expect their children to remain in the home district until early adulthood and a much higher proportion expect their children to migrate.

Earlier the restricted range of perceived local job opportunities was outlined, and as could be expected there is a clear lack of congruence between the job expectations that parents have of their sons and daughters and their perceptions of locally available employment. Of those parents who expected their sons to obtain a particular type of employment the overwhelming majority in seven of the localities (the farming areas of Sanday and Rousay were the exceptions), cited non-manual or skilled manual occupations. Yet parents in all the areas perceived such jobs as being unavailable locally. The lack of congruence between expectations and perceived local employment is even greater in the cases of girls. Expected occupations were drawn heavily from nursing, teaching, clerical and secretarial jobs but these occupations are in short local supply. As has been indicated, local employment for girls was perceived as being limited to a few manual occupations, but parents generally expect their eldest, school-aged daughters to obtain non-manual employment. Nowhere was the ratio between expected non-manual and expected manual jobs less than 3 to 1, and in most localities it was much higher.

The parent questionnaire enabled data to be collected on the place of residence and occupation of older sons and daughters belonging to the family who had already left school. The data (Table 17) further emphasise the differences between the experiences of those who stay and those who migrate. In the majority of cases those who have remained in their home districts are engaged in manual employment and very few have non-manual occupations. The migrants are much more likely to be non-manual workers and a majority of female migrants are in non-manual employment. Most migrant males are in manual jobs but if the figures are sub-divided by the introduction of a skilled manual category, it is found that only 13% of males who stayed in their home localities are in skilled manual jobs compared with 59% of those who have left their home districts. From the known experiences of older brothers and sisters and of those who have entered the labour market earlier than himself, the pupil and his parents, are likely to be aware of the contrasting destinies of those who remain and those who migrate.

Parent survey — conclusion

The main conclusions that emerge from this part of the study relate to the migration intentions and attitudes of the parents and the context of expectations in which the child is brought up. Perhaps the most simple and important finding is that so very few parents expect to become migrants over the next five years. However, it does emerge that in particular localities a high proportion of parents were dissatisfied with the local pattern of secondary

Table 17 Destinations and Occupations of Older Brothers and Sisters

		Working in home district		Working away from home district		
		Manual	Non-manual	Manual	Non-manual	Un-classified
West Sutherland	Men	25	4	24	3	5
	Women	8	–	7	13	6
Lewis (Uig)	Men	–	–	10	4	2
	Women	1	–	5	6	6
Lewis (Cross)	Men	7	1	2	1	–
	Women	2	1	1	5	–
Barra	Men	20	2	10	4	8
	Women	6	2	5	15	7
Orkney Sanday	Men	7	–	3	–	–
	Women	1	–	2	2	3
Orkney Rousay	Men	2	1	–	–	–
	Women	1	1	1	2	–
South-west Ross	Men	8	–	4	4	6
	Women	1	–	2	7	5
Mallaig	Men	18	–	5	–	–
	Women	12	3	–	4	5
Ullapool	Men	17	2	6	3	5
	Women	7	3	4	7	7
		143	20	91	80	65

provision and that a significant number were not totally opposed to the prospect of migration. In discussing the importance of various factors in causing migration, it is useful to draw a distinction between those factors that have such an acute effect that in themselves they are the cause of relatively large numbers of people deciding to migrate, and factors in the locality none of which singularly cause migration but which in combination contribute to the formation of an orientation towards the locality that in turn leads to the development of attitudes sympathetic to the prospect of migration. A restricted occupational base and severe non-availability of employment is likely to be sufficient reason for some people deciding to migrate, but concern about lack of shopping facilities and dissatisfaction with the local educational system are more likely to be factors contributing to the development of attitudes favourable to migration.

The other main finding of this section is the pessimism of parents concerning locally available job opportunities for school-leavers and their perceptions of their home districts as places from which the majority of school-leavers migrate. In relation to their own children there is a strong and widespread expectation that they will also become migrants and that local jobs are not of the kind that parents would wish their children to obtain. The child is thus likely to grow up in a social context in which there are strong expectations that he or she will eventually move away. This context of migration expectations is particularly important because if the child begins to develop his own aspirations in a way compatible with these expectations, then it is likely that an acceptance of migration or even a desire to migrate will develop long before the stage of secondary education is reached. While the parents have every intention of remaining in their present home districts, they are at the same time likely to expect their own children to become migrants.

Chapter 6

The Survey of Secondary School Pupils

In this section of the report we are particularly concerned with two groups of secondary pupils and their expectations of migration and employment. One group consists of all those pupils with home addresses in the research area who were in the first year of secondary education (S.1) in 1973/74 and the other group comprises all those in the fourth year (S.4) who were nearing the end of their compulsory period of secondary education. In the survey of the parents we found that generally they had very pessimistic perceptions of locally available jobs and that there was a widespread expectation that school-leavers would move away from their home districts in search of work. It is reasonable to expect that the perceptions and expectations of secondary pupils will develop in directions which are broadly compatible with those of the parents. On the basis of the parent survey we would expect a relatively large proportion of S.1 pupils to have expectations and perceptions favourable to migration and for there only to be a slight increase between S.1 and S.4. An alternative hypothesis is that pupils in S.1 are more likely to have local orientations but that these are eroded during the period of secondary education by growing dissatisfaction with local opportunities, resulting in a significant increase in the proportion expecting to migrate.

These two contrasting hypotheses have opposite implications on how far secondary education contributes to dissatisfaction with local conditions and expectation of migration. On the first hypothesis, pupils already hold the attitudes and expectations which would dispose them towards migration, before the secondary school system has any opportunity to exert an influence. On the second hypothesis, if we find that attitudes and expectations change during the period of secondary education, it is possible that part of the change could be attributed to the effect of the secondary school system.

As well as examining the evidence relating to these hypotheses we will also consider the hypothesis that the actual pattern of secondary school provision can lead to differences in expectations of migration. This hypothesis is that those who are required to live away from home are less likely to expect to remain in their home districts than those who attend a local school, while those who are educated within the west coast cultural environment are more likely to expect to remain than those from the west coast who attend east coast schools. Finally we will attempt to identify some of the important factors that differentiate expectant migrants from those who expect to stay.

The data were collected by means of a self-administered questionnaire that was distributed through all secondary schools serving the research area. Completed questionnaires were received from 996 S.1 pupils and 831 S.4 pupils. In order to study the development of perceptions and expectations

Table 18 Ease of Obtaining a Local Job

Do you think you could get a job that you would want in your home district?

	S.1		S.4	
Yes – Very Easily	128	(13%)	113	(14%)
Yes – But Not Easily	243	(24%)	230	(28%)
No	321	(32%)	316	(38%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	304	(31%)	172	(21%)
	996	(100%)	831	(101%)

Table 19 Range of Local Jobs available for Girls

What kind of jobs are there for **girls** in your home district?

	S.1		S.4	
There are many different kinds of jobs for girls in my home district	159	(16%)	98	(12%)
If a girl wanted to get a job in my home district she could but she wouldn't have a lot of different jobs to choose from	446	(45%)	439	(53%)
It is difficult for a girl to get any kind of job at all in my home district	348	(35%)	270	(33%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	43	(4%)	24	(3%)
	996	(100%)	831	(101%)

Table 20 Range of Local Jobs available for Boys

What kind of jobs are there for **boys** in your home district?

	S.1		S.4	
There are many different kinds of jobs for boys in my home district	186	(19%)	103	(12%)
If a boy wanted to get a job in my home district he could but he wouldn't have a lot of different jobs to choose from	492	(49%)	516	(62%)
It is difficult for a boy to get any kind of job at all in my home district	279	(28%)	194	(23%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	39	(4%)	18	(2%)
	996	(100%)	831	(99%)

Table 21 Wage Comparisons

	S.1		S.4	
Jobs in my home district pay higher wages than jobs in the cities and large towns	26	(3%)	22	(3%)
Jobs in the cities and large towns pay higher wages than jobs in my home district	419	(42%)	399	(48%)
Jobs in the cities and large towns and jobs in my home district pay about the same wages	93	(9%)	76	(9%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	458	(46%)	334	(40%)
	996	(100%)	831	(100%)

over time it would have been preferable to adopt the technique of a cohort study which would have enabled the same pupils to be followed through from S.1 to S.4, but this would have required a period of three years. A survey of two different age groups at the same time enables broad comparisons to be made immediately. However, there is no sure way of knowing that the S.4 pupils possessed exactly similar characteristics to those of today's S.1 pupils when they were at that age. There are two other factors that complicate the drawing of comparisons. The total of 831 S.4 pupils is significantly lower than the 996 in S.1: the difference is largely accounted for by the pupils leaving during S.4 as they attain the statutory leaving age. Secondly, the sex composition of the two populations differ: males constitute 52% of the S.1 population but only 45% of S.4.

S.1 and S.4 Comparisons

Tables 18, 19, 20 and 21 are all concerned with perceptions of employment opportunities. Two important conclusions from these tables are that even in S.1 only a small minority are optimistic about local job opportunities and that by S.4 the size of the optimistic group has decreased still further but not dramatically. Most respondents either consider that local job opportunities are virtually non-existent or where they do exist are available only within very restricted limits, and Table 21 shows that local jobs are associated with low wages when compared with employment opportunities in the cities and large towns. Throughout the period of secondary education the perceptions and expectations of pupils concerning local employment opportunities do not appear to change significantly. By the end of the first year at secondary school there is a widespread association of their home district with limited, low paid employment.

When the pupils were asked whether school-leavers from their home district remained living in their home district or moved away when they started working, it again became evident that very few S.1 pupils thought that most school-leavers remained. From Tables 22 and 23 it can be seen that there is little change in the proportion of pupils who thought that most male or female school-leavers continued as local residents once they started work.

Table 22 How many Girls stay in Home District to Work?

When **girls** from your home district start working, how many stay living in your home district and how many move away?

	S.1		S.4	
Most stay	155	(16%)	95	(11%)
About half stay and about half move	203	(20%)	265	(32%)
Most move	323	(32%)	354	(43%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	315	(32%)	117	(14%)
	996	(100%)	831	(100%)

Table 23 How many Boys stay in Home District to Work?

When **boys** from your home district start working, how many stay living in your home district and how many move away?

	S.1		S.4	
Most stay	161	(16%)	138	(17%)
About half stay and about half move	253	(25%)	282	(34%)
Most move	275	(28%)	305	(37%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	307	(31%)	106	(13%)
	996	(100%)	831	(101%)

Table 24 Expected Place of Residence at Age 25

	MALE		FEMALE	
	S.1	S.4	S.1	S.4
Expect to be resident in present home district	134 (26%)	72 (19%)	63 (13%)	38 (8%)
Expect to migrate	196 (38%)	147 (39%)	216 (45%)	268 (59%)
Don't Know/ Not Answered	186 (36%)	158 (42%)	201 (42%)	148 (33%)
	516	377	480	454

The changes that do occur between S.1 and S.4 show an increase in the proportions replying that most move or about half move and half stay. The increase of these two categories is brought about by a decline in the population answering "Don't know". This is to be expected as the S.4 pupils are more likely to have observed what has happened to near contemporaries.

So far we have been concerned with the perceptions that pupils have of their home districts and we have found that even in S.1 most pupils see their home districts as offering at best only limited job opportunities and being areas that are incapable of retaining local school-leavers. In Table 24 we turn to the expectations of migration of the pupils themselves. When asked where they expected to reside when they were age 25 the responses of the pupils were consistent with the preceding account of their perceptions of the home districts. Thus the proportion in S.1 who expect to remain locally resident is low and decreases gradually between S.1 and S.4. In neither sex is there a fundamental difference in the pattern of responses between S.1 and S.4. The most marked change is the increase of 14% between S.1 and S.4 in the proportion of girls who expect to migrate. We have already seen that not only the girls but also the parents regard local opportunities for girls as being particularly bleak. The increase in the proportion of girls expecting to migrate might be due not only to an increase in their awareness of limited local opportunities, but also their increasing recognition of the consequences that limited opportunities will have for any decision about their future place of residence. For girls in particular, acutely unpromising local prospects leave little room for doubt about the possibility of continued local residence, and migration is seen as being virtually inevitable.

It might be thought that even among the S.4 pupils there is a relatively large proportion who are still unsure about whether they will migrate or remain locally resident. Considering the pupils were asked about their likely whereabouts 9 to 10 years in the future, it is more remarkable that at the very least nearly 60% have very definite expectations, and this can be seen as being a product of the stark alternatives confronting school-leavers. The size of the "Don't know" and "Not answered" category draws attention to the dilemma facing pupils who wish to remain working in their home districts but who aspire to jobs that are either in short supply locally or are actually unavailable within the home district.

These pupils are in a situation of acutely conflicting values between the desire to remain locally resident and the desire for a particular job. Until such a conflict is resolved they are likely to be unsure about both their future occupation and their future place of residence. It would be appropriate for pupils in this situation either not to answer the question or to give a "Don't know" response.

It is possible to bring together the evidence presented in this section in order to assess whether the period of secondary education witnesses a fundamental change among pupils in their perceptions of local opportunities and their expectations about future migration. The most important finding is that on the basis of all the evidence there is not a fundamental change in the expectations and perceptions of pupils between S.1 and S.4. A large proportion of pupils at the end of the first year of their secondary education have expectations and perceptions that are compatible with an eventual acceptance of migration. The foundations for this attitude to migration among the S.4 pupils are firmly laid down by the end of S.1. It could, of course, be argued that it is during this first year of secondary education that the fundamental change of expectations and perceptions takes place, or even that the mere fact of having to move to a centralised secondary school itself creates these expectations. Bearing in mind the social context, dominated by migration expectations, in which the child is likely to be brought up, it is reasonable to conclude that the period of secondary education does not see any fundamental change in perceptions and expectations. At the beginning of secondary education there is widespread pessimism about local job opportunities, recognition that many school-leavers migrate, and a lack of confidence about the possibility of living and working in the home district. These attributes are well developed among the youngest secondary pupils, and during the period of secondary education the proportion of the ageing cohort possessing similar characteristics gradually increases, but does not dramatically change. There is no evidence for believing that the values transmitted during secondary education cause significant numbers of pupils to change from having strong local orientations and expectations of remaining in their home districts once they leave school to a position where they expect to migrate.

The pattern of secondary provision and expectations of migration

The values conveyed by the experience of secondary education may not generally be an important factor affecting orientations towards migration, but it is possible that there may be significant differences among pupils who are subject to different patterns of secondary provision. The most straightforward and simple argument is that pupils who are required to live away from home for the whole or part of their secondary education are more likely to be expectant migrants than those who receive the whole of their secondary education while staying at home. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that pupils who live in hostels or lodgings lose touch with their home districts and their local culture, and that they are exposed and vulnerable to the urban industrial values that permeate the school system. The combined effect is that pupils who are required to live away from home would be more likely to become expectant migrants than those who remain resident in their home districts for the whole of their secondary education. There is a slightly

Table 25 Expectations of Migrations at Age 25 and whether living away from home to attend school

	Living Away		Living at Home	
Expect to stay	34	(13%)	76	(14%)
Expect to Migrate	148	(54%)	267	(48%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	90	(33%)	216	(38%)
	272	(100%)	559	(100%)

different argument which attaches greater importance to the location of the centralised secondary school rather than just to the fact of living away from home, but this will be examined shortly. There are a number of difficulties in comparing the expectations of those living away from home with those receiving their secondary education in their home districts. Those living in hostels or lodgings are likely to come from the most isolated and sparsely populated areas where job opportunities are even more restricted than throughout the research area as a whole. The selective secondary policy operated by Inverness-shire education committee means that the two groups of pupils are not of a similar academic standard. Those living away from home contain an appreciably higher proportion of pupils classified as being potential "certificate candidates". As academically distinguished pupils are likely to aspire to middle class occupations, the combined effect of these two biases would be to increase the proportion of expectant migrants among pupils living away from home independent of any influence that the pattern of provision itself might have. In Table 25 a simple comparison is made between those who in S.4 are living at home and those who are living in hostels or lodgings. The proportion expecting to remain locally resident is virtually the same in the two groups and although the proportion of expectant migrants is higher among those living away from home, it is greater by only 6%. On the basis of this evidence it is reasonable to conclude that living away from home during the period of secondary education does not result in any significant difference in expectations of migration.

As has been mentioned, a slightly more sophisticated argument attaches particular importance to the actual location of the centralised secondary school. The critical case often cited in the context of this argument is the pupil from a west coast, rural, Gaelic cultural area who is required to attend school in the culturally alien east coast. In Table 26 we compare the expectations of migration of S.4 pupils, in seven geographical/cultural combinations. Here again the most obvious finding is the remarkable similarity of response patterns found throughout the table. In particular, it can be clearly seen that those from west coast homes who attend east coast schools are no different in their expectations of migration than pupils educated in their home districts. Parents may like a situation where their children are educated within the cultural area of the west coast, but the low proportion of pupils (6%) attending local west coast schools who expect to remain locally resident indicates that such a pattern of provision does not of itself increase local orientations. The type of regime which has the lowest proportion expecting

Table 26 Expectations of Migration and Location of Secondary School with respect to Home

	School in Home District on the mainland	School in Home District on an island	School not in Home District but both on west mainland	Home on west mainland, School on east mainland	School not in Home District but both on same island	School on one island, Home on another island	School in the east mainland Home on an island	Others
Expect to stay	5 (14%)	72 (14%)	2 (6%)	10 (14%)	8 (8%)	5 (12%)	7	1
Expect to Migrate	19 (54%)	248 (47%)	18 (51%)	35 (49%)	62 (65%)	22 (52%)	8	3
Don't Know/ Not Answered	11 (32%)	206 (39%)	15 (43%)	26 (37%)	26 (27%)	15 (36%)	5	2
	35 (100%)	526 (100%)	35 (100%)	71 (100%)	96 (100%)	42 (100%)	20	6

to remain locally resident is where the school is not in the home district, but both the school and the home district are on the same island. The individual cases in this category are heavily dominated by two distinct groups — pupils from rural Lewis attending the Nicolson Institute in Stornoway, and pupils from the rural landward mainland part of Orkney attending Kirkwall Grammar School. Both Stornoway and Kirkwall are administrative commercial and service centres for their dispersed rural hinterlands, and it is likely that the social and job opportunities available in the two burghs may attract school-leavers from the outlying areas. There is a vivid disparity between opportunities available in the island burghs and those found in the landward rural areas. Any migratory pull exerted by the urban service centres within the islands is independent of the pattern of secondary provision.

In order to examine two specific hypotheses, detailed examinations were carried out of the expectations of children attending specific schools. We have already referred to the claim that the local junior secondary school is particularly appropriate for sparsely populated areas of the Highlands and Islands, because it enables "non-certificate" pupils to be educated in their home districts and to receive an education that will prepare them for local employment and residence. In the research area we were able to identify 128 S.4 pupils who attended local secondary schools which either had no 'O' grade provision or offered only a very limited number of 'O' grade courses. In Table 27 we find that only 8% of these pupils expect to remain locally resident. As a means of encouraging pupils to think in terms of remaining in their home districts after leaving school, the traditional junior secondary type of education is unsuccessful.

In comparing the situation where west coast pupils receive their secondary education within the west coast area with the situation where pupils from the west coast transfer to the east coast, it is important to ensure that similar pupils are being compared. In some cases only those who are considered likely to be candidates for the Scottish Certificate of Education transfer to east coast schools, while the "non-certificate" pupils remain in local secondary schools. In order to ensure a fair comparison it is necessary to select schools having comprehensive S.4's. Plockton High School is a comprehensive west coast school serving a west coast catchment area. Golspie High School is similarly comprehensive, but is on the east coast and receives pupils from the west coast of Sutherland and Dingwall Academy.

Table 27 **Expectations of Migration of S.4 Pupils attending Junior Secondary School in their Home Districts which have only limited 'O' grade provision or none at all**

Expect to Stay	10	(8%)
Expect to Migrate	70	(55%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	48	(38%)
	128	(101%)

Table 28 Expectations of Migration of S.4 Pupils from the research area attending Plockton High School and Dingwall Academy and Golspie High School

	Plockton High School		Golspie/Dingwall	
Expect to Stay	4	(10%)	9	(13%)
Expect to Migrate	24	(60%)	33	(49%)
Don't Know/Not Answered	12	(30%)	25	(37%)
	40	(100%)	67	(99%)

also situated on the east coast, has a comprehensive S.4 west coast year group, some of whom transfer at the beginning of their secondary education, while others make the transfer from a local west coast secondary school at the end of S.2. Thus Plockton High School provides an example of a comprehensive group of west coast pupils being educated in the west coast cultural area, while Golspie and Dingwall combine to provide a comparable group of west coast pupils who are being educated on the east coast. If the location of the secondary school is an important factor determining expectations of migration, we should expect a higher proportion of Dingwall Golspie pupils than of Plockton pupils to be expectant migrants. Table 28 shows that this is clearly not the case. At both the general and the detailed level the analysis supports the contention that the location of the secondary school is of no significance in affecting the migration expectations of pupils.

Survey of Secondary Pupils — Conclusion

Throughout the analysis we have concentrated on the relationship between secondary education and expectations of migration. Our conclusions have been that during the period of secondary education the perceptions and expectations of pupils undergo no major change and that the pattern of secondary provision has no significant effect on migration expectations. In this concluding section we will briefly examine the characteristics that differentiate expectant migrants from those who expect to remain in their present home districts.

From Table 29 it is apparent that with the exception of the Orkneys, there are only relatively minor fluctuations in the proportion of pupils in the different areas who expect to remain locally resident. The mainland of Inverness-shire has a relatively low proportion of expectant migrants and this may be due to the fact that the part of Inverness-shire within the research area is dominated by the fishing port of Mallaig. The number and variety of job opportunities associated with such a port and service centre may result in a lower proportion of S.4 pupils being certain in their expectations of eventual migration. There is a greater possibility that some form of employment may be available locally. The situation is not one in which expectations of continued local residence replace expectations of migration, but rather that expectation of migration gives way to doubt and uncertainty.

Table 29 Expectations of Migration and Location of Home

	West Sutherland	South Ross-shire	Lewis	Inverness-shire Mainland	Inverness-shire Islands	Orkney, Kirkwall and Stromness Areas	Orkney, Outer Areas	Total
Expect to stay	2	11 (12%)	39 (13%)	4 (12%)	20 (9%)	26 (20%)	8 (21%)	110 (13%)
Expect to Migrate	6	51 (57%)	153 (51%)	14 (42%)	129 (59%)	47 (36%)	15 (39%)	415 (50%)
Don't Know Not Answered	10	27 (31%)	109 (36%)	15 (46%)	71 (32%)	59 (44%)	15 (39%)	306 (37%)
	18	89 (100%)	301 (100%)	33 (100%)	220 (100%)	132 (100%)	38 (99%)	831 (100%)

Two Orkney areas deserve special attention in that the earlier analysis of the census data revealed high out-migration rates among the Orcadian cohorts, but we find that a relatively high proportion of Orcadian pupils expect to stay and a low proportion expect to migrate. It is not within the scope of the present study to offer a thorough explanation of this paradox, but some attempt to reach an understanding is possible. The Orkneys are predominantly rural and agricultural, with the agricultural industry dependent upon the small owner-occupied family farm. However, some commercial and service occupations are available in the burgh of Kirkwall, and pupils from outlying areas might assume that a wider range of acceptable jobs can be obtained by commuting to employment within the burgh. The small family farm is much more of a going concern than the west coast croft, and is capable of providing employment for a limited number of family workers. Part of the explanation of the Orkney paradox might be that jobs in Kirkwall turn out to be not available on the scale assumed by the pupils, and that fewer school-leavers than anticipated are able to be absorbed by the family farms.

Throughout this section the account has continually returned to the problem of locally available employment. On the basis of Table 30 it is apparent that the perceptions that pupils have regarding the relative ease of obtaining an acceptable local job are strongly related to their expectations of migration. Thus 37% of pupils who considered that an acceptable local job would be easily obtainable expected to stay, with 23% expecting to migrate. Of the pupils who did not expect to be able to obtain an acceptable local job, only 5% expected to stay and 70% expected to migrate.

The relationship between employment and expectations of migration is further developed in Tables 31 and 32. Although 436 pupils were unable to cite an expected occupation and 176 did not mention a desired occupation, a discernible relationship emerges between job choice and expectations of migration. As the social class position of the expected or desired job rises, the

Table 30 Expectation of Migration by perceived ease of obtaining an acceptable Local Job

	Acceptable local job easily obtainable		Acceptable local job obtainable but not easily		Do not expect to be able to obtain an acceptable job locally		Don't Know/ Not Answered		
Expect to Stay	43	(37%)	34	(15%)	15	(5%)	18	(10%)	8 (38%)
Expect to Migrate	27	(23%)	104	(45%)	222	(70%)	62	(36%)	4 (24%)
Don't Know/ Not Answered	43	(37%)	92	(40%)	79	(25%)	92	(53%)	8 (38%)
	113	(97%)	230	(100%)	316	(100%)	172	(99%)	100 (100%)

Table 31 Expectation of Migration and Expected Job

	Expected Job is Non-Manual	Expected Job is Skilled Manual	Expected Job is Semi-Unskilled Manual	Others	Don't Know/ Not Answered
Expect to Stay	18 (9%)	28 (25%)	21 (30%)	3	40 (9%)
Expect to Migrate	122 (64%)	44 (39%)	28 (39%)	14	207 (47%)
Don't Know Not Answered	52 (27%)	42 (37%)	22 (31%)	1	189 (43%)
	192 (100%)	114 (101%)	71 (100%)	18	436 (99%)

Table 32 Expectation of Migration and Desired Job

	Desired Job Non-Manual	Desired Job Skilled Manual	Desired Job Semi, Unskilled Manual	Others	Don't Know/ Not Answered
Expect to Stay	33 (10%)	34 (18%)	27 (26%)	3	13 (7%)
Expect to Migrate	184 (56%)	82 (43%)	38 (37%)	20	91 (52%)
Don't Know/ Not Answered	119 (35%)	74 (39%)	37 (36%)	4	72 (41%)
	336 (101%)	190 (100%)	102 (99%)	27	176 (100%)

proportion of pupils expecting to remain locally resident declines. Only 9% of those who expect to obtain non-manual employment expect to remain living locally, and even among those expecting semi-skilled or unskilled employment, only 30% expect to stay. In discussing the expectations of migration held by S.4 pupils, it must be remembered that out of the total number of 831 respondents, only 110 (13%) expected to remain resident in their home districts. 415 (50%) expected to migrate and 306 (37%) either did not answer or gave a "Don't know" reply, which could be taken as indicating doubt and uncertainty. In attempting to explain the reasons for this distribution of responses, it is more appropriate to seek its cause in the general economic malaise affecting large parts of the peripheral areas rather than in the pattern of provision or the values implicit in the experience of secondary education.

Chapter 7

The Survey of 1971/72 School-leavers

So far the analysis has been, in a sense, speculative in that we have been concerned with the perceptions and expectations of parents and secondary school pupils. The data collected by a survey of school-leavers enable us to examine what has actually happened to pupils some two to three years after leaving school. From all the secondary schools serving the research area a list was obtained of 899 pupils who had left school during or at the end of session 1971/72. A postal questionnaire was sent to all pupils at addresses provided by the schools and eventually 675 completed questionnaires were returned. Despite having to rely on addresses that were at least two years out-of-date, a response rate of 75% was achieved. This is a relatively high response rate for a postal questionnaire and compares with rates of 40% to 60% which Oppenheim [8] suggests as typical for postal questionnaires. Obviously non-response is a particularly important factor in a study of migration. In order to reach those who had already migrated the survey was dependent upon the questionnaire being forwarded by parents or other local residents. In some cases, present residents supplied the new address of the migrant young person. In a reminder letter a request was made for the present address of the school-leaver if they had already moved away. The high response rate was achieved only through the co-operation of many people in passing on questionnaires. Despite all efforts it has to be recognised that the proportion of migrants identified in the survey is most probably an under-estimate of the actual situation and cases where the parents have migrated with the school-leaver are most likely to be under-represented.

This concluding section of the report has very limited objectives. We hope to indicate the proportion of school-leavers who migrate, together with their characteristics, and finally we return to the issue of whether there is any evidence to suggest that the pattern of secondary provision affects migration rates.

Throughout this analysis those still engaged in courses of full-time education who are attending institutes outwith their home districts are classified as being resident in the area where they are receiving their education. It is a matter for debate whether they should be considered as primarily resident in their home district or in the area where they are receiving their education. However, the decision to classify them as migrants is very largely justified by the finding that of the 121 school-leavers who are still engaged in full-time education, only 18 (15%) expect to return to their home districts by the time they are aged 25.

Table 33 shows the present geographical distribution of the respondents. For the purpose of this table those still receiving full-time education have been allocated to the geographical location of their educational institute. Of the 675 completed questionnaires, 353 (53%) were obtained from young people who are entirely resident within the same home district as when they were at school. Migration within the Seven Crofting Counties accounts only for 84 (12%) and this contrasts with the attraction exerted by the three cities of Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh where 175 (26%) of respondents were resident. Only 19 (3%) had migrated elsewhere within Scotland and 44 (7%)

Table 33 Present Address

	N	%
Present address is within the same home district as when school-leaver was at school	353	(52%)
Growth area within the Seven Crofting Counties (inner Moray Firth and Inverness, Wick-Thurso, Fort William)	48	(7%)
Any other area within the Seven Crofting Counties	36	(5%)
Edinburgh	38	(6%)
Glasgow	59	(9%)
Aberdeen	78	(12%)
Elsewhere in urban Scotland	15	(2%)
Elsewhere in rural Scotland	4	(1%)
Elsewhere in Britain	34	(5%)
Elsewhere abroad	10	(2%)
	675	(101%)

Table 34 Employment Status by Present Address

	In full-time employment	Full-time education	House-wife	Others	Not Answered
Same as home district when at school	288 (61%)	–	20 (71%)	41 (82%)	4
In another part of the Seven Crofting Counties	73 (16%)	2 (2%)	6 (21%)	3 (6%)	–
Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow	63 (13%)	108 (89%)	1 (4%)	3 (6%)	–
Elsewhere	48 (10%)	11 (9%)	1 (4%)	3 (6%)	–
	472	121	28	50	4

had moved to places outwith Scotland. Within these locations there are a small number of leavers who have joined the merchant navy (11, 2%) and the armed services (18, 3%) who have what could be called itinerant occupations.

472 (70%) of the respondents are in full-time employment while 121 (18%) are engaged in some form of full-time education and 28 are non-working housewives. The 'other' category in Table 34 is very largely constituted by those who for other reasons are not employed. As could be expected, Table 34 shows that those receiving full-time education are concentrated in the three cities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow. Although 61% of those engaged in full-time employment are resident within the same home districts in which they lived when they were at school, emphasis should be given to the 39% of young workers who at an early stage of their working lives have already migrated. These findings which refer to what has happened to young people two to three years after leaving school are consistent with the census data that were discussed at the beginning of the report and the expectations of both the parents and the secondary pupils. Thus within a relatively short period of leaving school there is a significant group of young workers who have migrated and another group of young people still receiving full-time education outwith their home districts who can be expected to face great difficulty in eventually obtaining local employment. During the report, reference has been made to the common finding of similar studies that more females than males migrate soon after leaving school; and in the survey of secondary pupils it was found that girls were more likely to have expectations of migration. The present survey fully supports the differential migration levels of males and females. Thus 59% of boys are still resident locally but only 45% of girls. The one group of girls who are very likely to remain locally resident are those who get married soon after leaving school. Of 28 housewives in the survey, 20 were resident in the same home district where they lived when they left school.

One of the specific topics raised by the Board at the beginning of the research was whether there was any evidence to suggest that parents migrate with their children when the latter move away in search of employment. We have already pointed out that the present study with its reliance on a postal questionnaire is likely to underestimate the number of cases where this type of household migration takes place. The survey findings show that 97% (655) of the parents are resident in the same home district in which they were living when their children first left school. Only in 1% (8) of the cases have parents and the school-leaver moved to the same district and even in these very limited cases we do not have any evidence on the reasons why the households decided to move. Even when the bias involved in the survey is allowed for it is reasonable to conclude that there is no evidence to suggest that household migration around the time when the pupil leaves school is a common occurrence.

It could be expected that among a group of recent school-leavers from a peripheral area, migration would be strongly associated with age and educational achievement. In the first few years of employment a young worker with limited educational qualifications would find it difficult to obtain a job which would support him independently of his family. The better qualified young worker will face great difficulty in obtaining local employment in the type of occupations to which he is likely to aspire. Tables 35 and 36 do indeed show a strong relationship between age and educational

achievement and migration. Of those who had left school in 1971/72 and were aged 17 in September, 1974, 78% were still locally resident while only 23% were still locally resident of those aged 20 years or more. Similarly, 75% of those with no 'O' grade passes were locally resident but only 24% of those with six or more passes. The complicating factor in the present study is that because we are looking at all young people who left school during 1971/72, those who are in the oldest age group are also likely to have the highest academic qualifications, and the 17-year-olds are drawn disproportionately from the group with no 'O' grade passes. For reasons of age and lack of academic qualifications it could be expected that the youngest age group would contain the highest proportion of local residents. Although the survey data show that this is the case, nevertheless, 22% of the youngest age group have already overcome the difficulties of supporting themselves away from home and have migrated. The main period of out-migration among the presently young and unqualified school-leavers is likely to be delayed until their earning capacity increases to a level where it will be easier for them to support themselves. It will clearly take another few years before it will be possible to obtain a comprehensive picture of the fate of the 1971/72 school-leavers.

Table 35 Age on 1st September, 1974 by present address

	Aged 17	Aged 18	Aged 19	Aged 20	Not Answered
Same as home district when at school	191 (78%)	74 (60%)	39 (31%)	34 (23%)	15 (47%)
Present address other than home district when at school	55 (22%)	49 (40%)	86 (69%)	115 (77%)	17 (53%)
	246	123	125	149	32

Table 36 'O' grades obtained by Present Address

	No 'O' grades obtained	1 or 2 'O' grades	3 to 5 'O' grades obtained	6 or more 'O' grades	No information given
Present address same as home district when at school	221 (75%)	22 (56%)	42 (51%)	60 (24%)	8
Present address other than home district when at school	72 (25%)	17 (44%)	41 (50%)	188 (76%)	4
	293	39	83	248	12

Some indication of the probable migration loss among the 1971-72 school-leavers can be obtained from their answers to questions on where they expect to be living when they are aged 25. The uncertainty that is felt by school-leavers and young workers about their future place of residence is shown by the 283 (42%) who were unable even to give a general indication of whether they expected to be resident in their local home district. Out of a total of 675 school-leavers only 123 (18%) expected to be resident in the district they had lived in when at school. This group of expectant local residents is composed of 105 young people who are already local residents and 18 who are presently away on courses of full-time education but expect to return. It is significant that none of those who have moved away and found employment expect to return. The likelihood of further migration from among those who are still locally resident is indicated by the 74 local residents who nevertheless expect to have moved away by the time they are 25, and this group of expectant migrants constitutes 21% of 1971-72 school-leavers who are still locally resident. Thus those unsure of their future migration plans account for 42% (283) of the school-leavers, those who expect to be living in their original home districts by the time they are 25 years old total 18% (123) and the expectant migrants represent 40% (269). This finding is entirely consistent with the picture that emerged from both the survey of parents and the survey of secondary pupils.

A clearer picture emerges if we examine in much greater detail the relationship between expected place of residence and such factors as educational achievement, age, and occupation expectations. The lack of professional and non-manual job opportunities in the peripheral area leads to the hypothesis that the higher the social class of the expected job, the greater the expectation of migration. This already holds true for secondary pupils. However, if for the moment the present place of residence of the school-leavers is examined in relation to the social class of the expected occupation, a migration/social class relationship emerges. Those who expect to obtain professional and executive jobs in Class I and II have to a very large extent already left the home district — many of them for courses of full-time education. Such a finding should cause no surprise as this type of migration has long been recognised as an ever present characteristic of the area. Among those expecting routine non-manual and manual occupations a class/migration relationship still obtains and those expecting semi-skilled or unskilled occupations in social classes IV and V are most likely to be locally resident. The major unknown at the present time is the proportion of those expecting to obtain skilled manual employment who will be absorbed locally compared with the proportion who will migrate once their earning capacity increases to a level where they can support themselves. Already 35% of this group has migrated and the indications are that this proportion is likely to rise. Table 37

Table 38 indicates the migration losses suffered by the various locations but the numbers from west Sutherland and the mainland of Inverness-shire are so small that it would be unwise to attempt any interpretation. The proportion of school-leavers still resident in their home districts is about the same — between 47% and 52% — in west Ross-shire, the island of Lewis and the islands of Inverness-shire. In the sections on the expectations of secondary school pupils it was observed that Orkney pupils had higher expectations of remaining locally resident than pupils from the survey area as a whole. The data from the school-leavers survey indicate that the Orkney islands appear to be more successful than other areas in retaining their

Table 37 Social Class of Occupation Expected at Age 25 by present address

	Social Class I and II	III Non-Manual	III Manual	IV and V	Armed Services	Unclear	No information given
Same as home district when at school	20 (15%)	36 (51%)	77 (65%)	45 (78%)	2 (14%)	44 (61%)	129 (62%)
In another part of the Seven Crofting Counties	11 (8%)	14 (20%)	22 (19%)	4 (7%)	–	12 (17%)	21 (10%)
Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow	94 (69%)	11 (16%)	15 (13%)	4 (7%)	–	9 (13%)	42 (20%)
Elsewhere	11 (8%)	9 (13%)	4 (3%)	5 (9%)	12 (86%)	7 (10%)	15 (7%)
	136	70	118	58	14	72	207

Table 38 Present Address by Home District when at School

	West Sutherland	West Ross-shire	Lewis	Inverness-shire Mainland	Inverness-shire Islands	Orkney, Kirkwall and Stromness areas	Orkney Outer Areas
Present address same as home district when at school	2	35 (48%)	119 (52%)	11	82 (47%)	81 (61%)	23 (66%)
Present address other than home district when at school	12	38 (52%)	110 (48%)	4	94 (53%)	52 (39%)	12 (34%)
	14	73	229	15	176	133	35

school-leaver population. The paradox is that the census data show Orkney as having very high out-migration rates. This situation clearly requires more detailed study but it can be suggested that either migration of young people from the Orkneys is slowing down possibly because the school-leavers produced by a declining population can be more easily absorbed by the island economy or, alternatively, out-migration of young people is slightly delayed in Orkney in comparison with the West Mainland and Western Isles.

Tables 39 and 40 are similar in form to those produced in the discussion of the migration expectations of the secondary school pupils and they refer in particular to the effect that the pattern of secondary provision might have on migration rates. Certainly from Table 39 the case would appear to be overwhelmingly proved. Pupils who lived away from home during their secondary education are much more likely to have moved away from their home district. However, the question cannot be solved so easily as there is a major problem in ensuring that like is being compared with like. At the time when those who left school in 1971/72 started their secondary education, selectivity was a more dominant characteristic of secondary provision than is the cases today. This meant that in many areas those who went to live in hostels or lodgings were often pupils who had been selected for certificate courses while pupils from the same area who were not thought capable of benefiting from a certificate course attended a local junior secondary school. The group of pupils who lived away from home thus contains a higher proportion possessing 'O' grade qualifications and also tends to be older. We have already seen that both age and academic achievement are strongly associated with migration. The difficulty of comparing like with like makes it unwise to base conclusions on the data presented in Tables 39 and 40. There is one piece of available evidence that points away from a direct, simple relationship between migration and living away from home during secondary education. There are 148 respondents who either attended local junior secondary schools which offered no certificate courses or attended schools that made very limited 'O' grade provision. Of those 148 respondents, 101 (68%) are locally resident. We have previously seen that of all respondents who did not obtain any 'O' grade passes, 75% are locally resident. Thus, at the lower end of the academic scale, where a comparison of like with like is more

Table 39 Whether lived away from Home during secondary education by present address

	Lived away from Home during secondary education	Lived at Home throughout secondary education
Same as home district when at school	73 (34%)	279 (61%)
Present address other than home district when at school	140 (66%)	183 (39%)
	213	462

Table 40 Present Place of Residence and Location of Secondary School with respect to Home

	School in Home District on the mainland	School in Home District on an island	School not in Home District but both on west mainland	Home on west mainland, School on east mainland	School not in Home District but both on same island	School on one Island Home on another island	Others
Resident in same home district as when at school	24 (71%)	258 (59%)	7 (35%)	15 (32%)	33 (33%)	7 (33%)	9 (45%)
Resident elsewhere	10 (29%)	177 (41%)	13 (65%)	32 (68%)	66 (67%)	14 (67%)	10 (55%)
	34	435	20	47	99	21	19

feasible, those pupils who received their education in a local junior secondary school are slightly less likely to be locally resident than all pupils in the survey having similar academic qualifications. Clearly this is a problem that deserves more thorough investigation.

In general, the findings from this survey of school-leavers are consistent with the results from the interviews with parents and questionnaires completed by secondary school pupils. The expectations of parents and pupils are borne out by the replies from those who have recently left school and entered employment or full-time higher education.

Conclusions

It should be made clear in a study of this kind, where so many variables are involved, that it is difficult to explain migration in terms of any single one of them, and even more difficult to assess the relative importance of a particular factor. It is equally important to remember that comprehensive education is of recent introduction and its effects have scarcely had time to register in the population tables.

With these qualifications, the following conclusions have emerged from the study:

1. The findings of the three surveys are consistent in indicating that the structure of the secondary school provision is not a crucial factor in migration.

2. This does not mean that the structure is unimportant. Of the wide variety of provision for secondary education within the Highlands and Islands, the types of organisation most favoured by parents are the local two-year comprehensive school and the all-through comprehensive school located in the West Coast region.

3. In general, the adequacy of existing arrangements for secondary education, as viewed by parents, depends on comparisons with what they see as the most likely alternative pattern. Only a minority of the parents interviewed were satisfied with the pattern of secondary provision in their own districts.

4. Dissatisfaction with the pattern of secondary provision, however, does not appear to be an important factor influencing migration. The expectations and aspirations of parents and pupils tend to be influenced by general social and economic conditions, rather than by specifically educational considerations.

5. Even in the first year of secondary school, many pupils already accept the likelihood of migration after leaving school; the proportion expecting to migrate increases only gradually during the years of secondary education; and two years after leaving school only one in five expresses any firm expectation of being resident in their original home districts by the age of 25.

6. Both parents and pupils consider that job opportunities for young workers in their home districts are limited in number and restricted in range. There is a general expectation that a high proportion of young workers will migrate.

7. Because of the lack of local job opportunities, there is little support for locally oriented vocational courses. The emphasis is on a curriculum that prepares pupils to compete on a national basis.

8. There is no evidence to suggest that any significant number of parents migrate because their children have to leave home for secondary education at a distant centre. Nor is household migration common when children leave the locality in search of work.

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The population and industry data presented in the section 'The Demographic and Industrial Contexts' were obtained from Census material much of which is published in the individual County Reports or as part of the Economic Activity Tables. Some of the tables in this report were produced using census data held on magnetic tape by the University of Aberdeen.